An Overview of Demographic and Socio-economic Conditions of the Inuit in Canada

Canada

AN OVERVIEW OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE INUIT IN CANADA

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The views in this report are not necessarily those of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

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PREFACE

This research report is divided into two main parts. The first deals with the demographic evolution of the Inuit, while the second attempts to specify their socio-economic conditions.

Part I uses census data and vital statistics to describe the geographic distribution of the Inuit, their evolution over the past fifty years, and finally, the components of this evolution (fertility, mortality and migration).

Part II, which is based mainly on the 1981 Census and to some extent the 1971 Census, indicates the situation and, where possible, recent trends with respect to language, schooling, employment, income, religion, family, households and housing. Several of these variables have also been cross tabulated to indicate their interrelationships. Finally, we tried to isolate certain differences according to sex, and identify selected characteristics of the principal Inuit communities. For each of the major variables, we sought to describe the situation of the Inuit and to identify the main regional differences.

Throughout the analysis, we used the general population of Canada as a basis for comparison in order to highlight the specific conditions of the Inuit.

HIGHLIGHTS

This report deals with the Inuit ethnic group, its demographic evolution and socio-economic conditions. The major findings are presented below.

Geographic Distribution

According to the 1981 Census, there were 25,390 individuals of Inuit ethnic origin. They lived mainly in the North: Labrador, 6 per cent; Nouveau-Québec (Northern Quebec), 18 per cent; and the Northwest Territories (including the Yukon), 63 per cent. The remaining 13 per cent of the Inuit population lived in southern Canada.

Population Growth

Since 1931, the Inuit population has quadrupled, while the general population of Canada has doubled.

Age Structure

The Inuit population is much younger than the general population of Canada. In 1981, the average ages were 22 and 33 respectively.

Fertility

The fertility rate among the Inuit has declined substantially since 1961. Nevertheless, it is twice as high as for the Canadian population as a whole.

Mortality

Inuit mortality has decreased considerably since the 1950s, but it remains well above the Canadian average. The infant mortality rate among the Inuit is still five times that of the general population of Canada, and life expectancy at birth is 10 to 15 years below the Canadian average. Accidents are the major cause of death among the Inuit.

Migration

There seems to be proportionately less migration among the Inuit than among the Canadian population as a whole, except in southern Canada, where there is proportionately more migration among the Inuit.

Language

Two out of three Inuit speak Inuktitut at home (97 per cent in Northern Quebec), and two out of three have a knowledge of English.

Education

The level of education among the Inuit remains well below the Canadian average: 39 per cent of Inuit have completed grade nine, compared to 80 per cent of the general population of Canada. Proportionately, four times fewer Inuit have attended university.

Labour Force Activity

The unemployment rate for the Inuit population is 15 per cent, while the national rate is 7 per cent. However, the low participation rate (48 per cent) among the Inuit indicates an even more serious employment problem. Among the Inuit 41 per cent have jobs, which is one-third less than the Canadian average (60 per cent). Moreover Inuit women are even more disadvantaged; thirty-three per cent of them are employed, compared with 48 per cent of Inuit men.

Income

In 1980, the average annual income of Inuit persons 15 years of age and over having an income was $8,272, substantially below the $12,993 average for the corresponding age group in the Canadian population as a whole. For Inuit women, the situation was even worse: their average income of $5,748 was almost 50 per cent lower than that of Inuit men ($10,121).

Religion

The percentage of Protestants among the Inuit (77 per cent) is nearly twice that of the general population of Canada (41 per cent).

Family Structure

Lone-parent families are 50 per cent more common among the Inuit, and the demands placed on such Inuit families are greater given their larger number of children.

Household Structure

Approximately 4 per cent of Inuit live in households without any relatives, compared with 10 per cent for the Canadian population as a whole.

Housing

Inuit dwellings have an average of 1.2 persons per room, while the national average is 0.5. Eighteen per cent of Inuit households, compared with 7 per cent of all Canadian households, perceive that their dwellings require major repairs.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to describe the Inuit ethnic group in terms of its demographic evolution and specific socio-economic conditions. This publication provides information which should be useful for policy and program development, strategic and operational planning, and performance measurement.

Our two main sources of data were the census and vital statistics. The 1981 census data came mainly from special tabulations, while vital statistics on the Inuit were obtained from Health and Welfare Canada and the Register of the Inuit Population of Northern Quebec prepared by the Département de démographie de l'Université de Montréal (Department of Demography of the University of Montreal). This register contains mainly vital statistics from the Quebec Department of Social Affairs and information from certain administrative lists.

Since the Inuit are a subgroup of the Canadian population, we were faced with the eternal problem of defining the individuals covered by the study. Theoretically, we would like to have been able to include all those of Inuit descent who consider themselves Inuit. In fact, since we based our analysis on data already collected, we therefore had no control over it. However, judging by the 1981 Census which gave the option of declaring more than one ethnic origin, intermarriage is not too frequent between Inuit and other groups. Excluding status Indians, fewer than 9 per cent of Inuit (2,195 out of 25,390) declared more than one ethnic origin. Statistics Canada counted these 2,195 individuals as Inuit. Of the people reporting Inuit ethnic origin, only those reporting status Indian as one of their other ethnic origins were excluded.

The Canadian census definition[1] of ethnic origin as the cultural or ethnic group of the individual or the individual's ancestors, and even the compilation that includes multiple origins seems satisfactory to us.

The definitions used in the vital statistics are less precise. Data on ethnic origin are now available only for the Northwest Territories, since Quebec stopped collecting this information in 1975. In the rest of Canada, either the Inuit population is very small or the question of ethnic origin was not posed. Consequently, fertility and mortality were analysed only for the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec, where over 80 per cent of the Canadian Inuit population lives.

It is important to be aware that neither the vital statistics nor the census data are perfect. The case of Quebec, with which we are more familiar because of the Register of the Inuit Population of Northern Quebec, convinced us that neither source could be expected to yield totally accurate information, and we would not be surprised frequently to find errors of the order of 10 per cent in the coverage of one or the other.

In preparing this report, we took the following approach. For Canada as a whole and for four regions (the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, Northern Quebec, Labrador, and southern Canada), we attempted to describe the demographic evolution where possible, and the socio-economic profile of the Inuit. Emphasis had to be placed on the total Inuit population in Canada, since the numbers in the regions were often too small. Although we tried to limit our comments to the most significant data, the tables include regional

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1 In general, in the absence of a more precise description of the variables, the definitions used are those in the Dictionary of the 1971 Census Terms (Canada, 1972) and the 1981 Census Dictionary (Canada, 1982).

data, without comment, even where this information is not very meaningful due to the small numbers involved. In this way, we were able to avoid filling the report with comments that are too hypothetical without depriving information to a reader interested in a specific region.

We note in passing that the data on the Northwest Territories and Yukon region apply essentially to the Northwest Territories, which has an Inuit population of 15,910, compared with just 95 in the Yukon.

Finally, it is interesting to note that in 1981, the ethnic origin variable is included only on the long census form, which was given only to a one-fifth sample of the non-institutionalized population. In the North, however, an important exception was made to this sampling practice; the long questionnaire was distributed to the entire population. Consequently, the statistics on Inuit in the North are based on exhaustive data collection, while the information on those in the South is derived from a sample. The degree of error in the data on southern Inuit may therefore be higher. In addition, one must keep in mind that the figures representing ethnic groups involve only members of the non-institutionalized population.

PART ONE: DEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION

1.1 Geographic Distribution

In the 1981 Census, 25,390 people reported themselves to be of Inuit origin. The great majority (87 per cent) reside in small communities along the northern coasts of Canada (Figure 1.1): 6 percent in Labrador; 18 per cent in Northern Quebec; and, 63 per cent in the Northwest Territories (and the Yukon). The number of inhabitants in these communities ranges from 50 to 3,000, and the Inuit form a large majority in most cases. The geographic distribution of the Inuit in permanent settlements along the northern coasts reflects the settling process that began around the turn of the century.[1]

The remaining 13 per cent of the Inuit population is scattered in southern Canada, in both urban centres and small towns.

1.2 Population Growth

Figure 1.2 shows the numeric evolution in the Inuit population in the various regions. A logarithmic scale is used so that increases between censuses can be compared for populations of different sizes. A significant increase is thus apparent since 1931. The Inuit population of Canada has more than quadrupled from 6,000 to 25,000, between 1931 and 1981, with an average annual growth rate of 2.9 per cent. In the same period, the Canadian population doubled with an average growth rate of 1.7 per cent. This significant increase in the Inuit population is all the more remarkable considering that it is essentially due to natural growth. It is very unlikely today that Canada's Inuit population would have increased through immigration from Alaska or Greenland.

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1 See Duhaime (1983) and Lachance (1979).

LABRADOR
Northern Quebec
Tree line
Northwest Territories
YUKON

Figure 1.1

Geographic Distribution of the Inuit Population, Northern Canada, 1981

A dot (.) represents 100 people of Inuit origin.

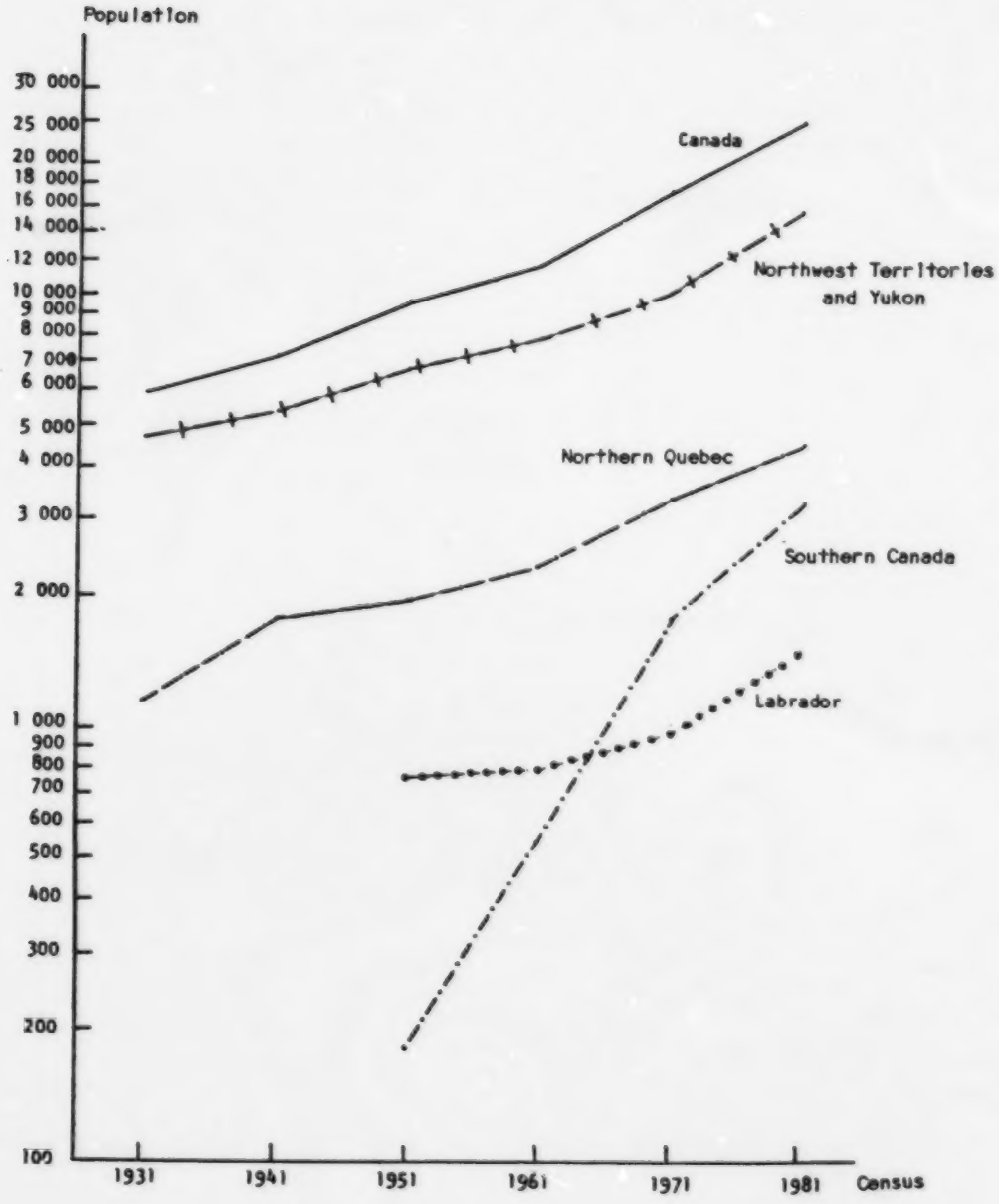
	Number of Inuit	
Northern Canada:	22,075	(87 per cent of total Inuit population)
Labrador:	1,495	
Northern Quebec:	4,575	
Northwest Territories:	15,910	
Yukon:	95	
Southern Canada:	3,315	(13 per cent of total Inuit population)
Newfoundland (excluding Labrador):	355	
Prince Edward Island:	30	
Nova Scotia:	130	
New Brunswick:	5	
Quebec (excluding Northern Quebec):	300	
Ontario:	1,095	
Manitoba:	230	
Saskatchewan:	145	
Alberta:	515	
British Columbia:	510	
Canada:	25,390	(100 per cent of Inuit population)

Note: The figures in parentheses refer to the names of the communities listed in Appendix A.4.

Source: Appendix A.4.

Figure 1.2

Inuit Population,
Canada and Regions, 1931 to 1981



Source: Table 1.1

The relative increase was smaller in the North than in the South, due to Inuit migration to southern Canada. While growth of the Inuit population in the South averaged 8.2 per cent per year, the average growth in the North was less: 2.8 per cent in Northern Quebec, 2.5 per cent in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, and 2.3 per cent in Labrador. As a result of the faster population increase in southern Canada, there have been more Inuit in that region than in Labrador since 1971.

It is necessary to note that census coverage of the Inuit population has not been uniform over time and in all areas which may explain some of the differences observed among the regions.

Table 1.1 indicates the substantial decrease in the Inuit population's relative size in the various regions, despite the large increase in actual numbers. In the Northwest Territories, the Inuit proportion dropped from 50 per cent to 35 per cent between 1931 and 1981, in Northern Quebec, from 45 per cent to 34 per cent between 1931 and 1971[2], and in Labrador, from 10 to 5 per cent between 1951 and 1981. This situation is explained by the fact that in the North, the Inuit population counts on only natural growth to increase its numbers, while the non-native population there is augmented by migration from the South.

1.3 Age Structure

Figure 1.3 indicates that the age structure of the Inuit population is much younger than that of the general population. In the 1981 Census, 43 per cent of the Inuit, compared with 23 per cent of Canadians as a whole, were under 15 years of age. By comparison, the proportion of people 65 years of age and over is much lower among the Inuit, only 3 per cent, as opposed to 9 per cent in the general population.

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2 Due to a change in census boundaries between 1971 and 1981, the comparison cannot be extended to 1981.

Table 1.1

Relative Size of the Inuit Population,
Canada and Regions, 1931 to 1981

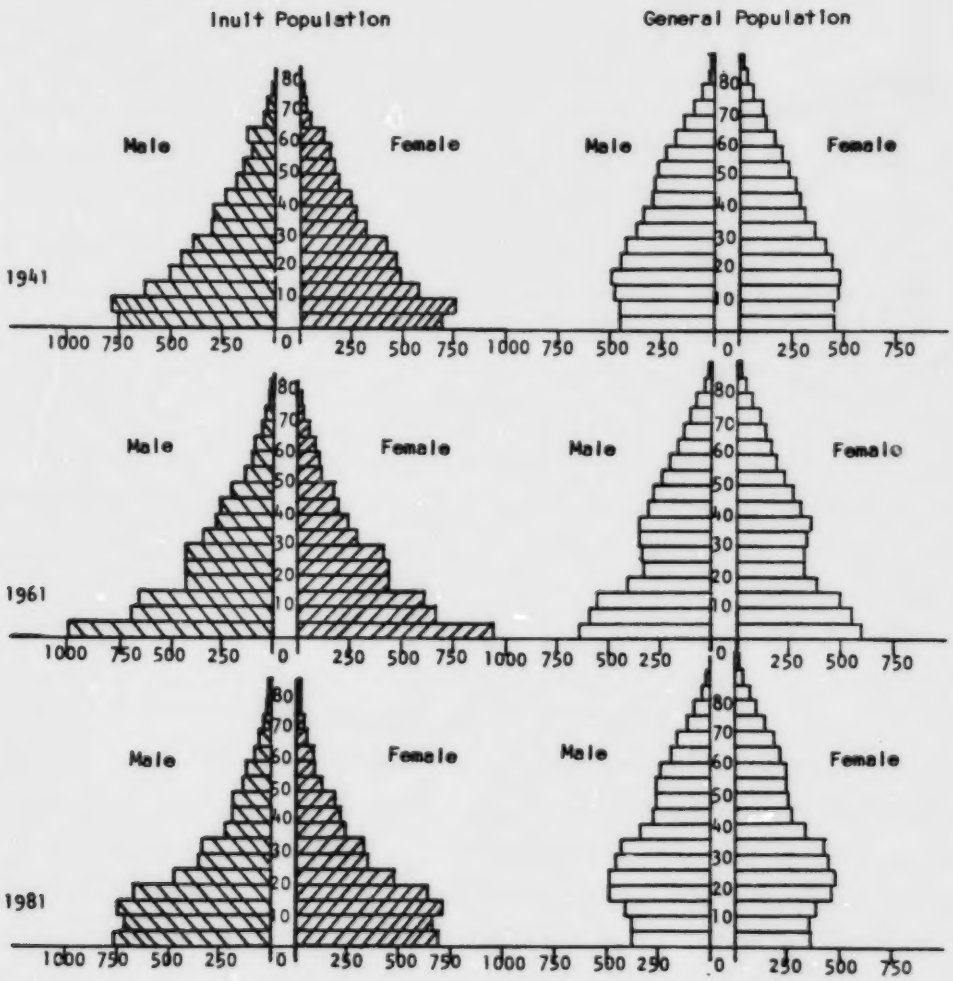
Census	Canada		Labrador		Northern Quebec		NWT		Yukon		Southern Canada	
	Numbers	% of Inuit	Numbers	% of Inuit	Numbers	% of Inuit	Numbers	% of Inuit	Numbers	% of Inuit	Numbers	% of Inuit
1931	5,979	*[2]	-	-	1,159	45[4]	4,670	50	85	2	65	*
1941	7,205	*	-	-	1,774	58	5,404	45	-	-	27	*
1951	9,733	*	769	10[3]	1,932	43	6,822	43	30	*	180	*
1961	11,835	*	805	6	2,388	29	7,977	35	40	*	625	*
1971	17,555	*	970	3	3,425	34	11,400	33	5	*	1,755	*
1981	25,390	*	1,500	5	4,575	11[5]	15,910	35	95	*	3,310	*

Notes:
1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. The asterisk indicates less than 0.5 per cent.
3. Inuit in Newfoundland.
4. Inuit in Quebec.
5. This percentage cannot be compared with previous values because the boundaries of Northern Quebec have been modified.

Sources: Censuses of Canada.

Figure 1.3

Population Pyramids of the Inuit and General Populations, Canada, 1941, 1961, 1981



Note: 1. Five-year age groups per 10,000 of population.

Sources: Censuses of Canada.

In spite of these important differences, the age structures of the two populations show the same trends between 1941 and 1981. Both populations became younger between 1941 and 1961 as the base grew and then older between 1961 and 1981 as the relative size of the youngest age groups decreased. The changes were greater in the Canadian population as a whole than in the Inuit population alone. Thus between 1961 and 1981, the average age among the Inuit remained quite constant at around 22, while the average age of the total population rose significantly, from 29 to 33.

The age pyramid of the Inuit population in 1941 indicates that the 0-4 years age group may have been under-enumerated because the low proportion is not reflected twenty years later, in 1961, in the 20-24 years age group. For the Canadian population as a whole, however, the low proportion observed in 1941 for the age groups of 0-4 and 5-9 years is reflected in 1961 in the age groups of 20-24 and 25-29 years.

The aging of the Inuit population between 1961 and 1981, as the youngest age groups became smaller, suggests a drop in fertility, or at least in the birth rate. This trend can be identified more clearly with the use of certain indicators.

1.4 Fertility

Several indicators can be used to measure fertility in a population. The crude birth rate is the simplest to calculate, since only the number of births and the total population are required. However, this indicator is difficult to interpret because it is affected by the age structure of the population. Two series of rates were calculated for Northern Quebec: the observed rates based on birth certificates, and the adjusted rates using various administrative lists and nominal rolls in conjunction with births recorded in the vital statistics.

Figure 1.4 shows that the rates are much higher for the Inuit than for the total Canadian population. The crude birth rate peaked at 60 per 1,000 in the Northwest Territories[3] in the early 1960s, while the highest rate in the country as a whole was 28 per 1,000 in 1956. Among the Inuit, the birth rate followed the same pattern in all regions: a sharp increase between 1941 and 1961, followed by an equally significant decrease between 1961 and 1981. The Inuit birth rate is currently around 35 per 1,000, compared with 15 per 1,000 among the general population. Although the variations in the rate before 1961 may reflect inconsistent coverage of births as much as real changes in the birth rate itself, the decrease recorded after 1961 must logically be attributed to a drop in the birth rate. Given the quality of the data available and the discrepancies in these data, we cannot conclude that the birth rate varies from one region to another. The rates for the Northwest Territories are never far from the bracket formed by the observed rates and the adjusted rates for Northern Quebec. The same is true for the single rate calculated for Labrador.

By using the **general fertility rate**, we can obtain more precise information on fertility. This rate partly offsets the effect of the age structure because the denominator consists only of the female population 15-49 years of age, that is, the reproductive population. For Northern Quebec, both the observed rates and adjusted rates are once again given.

Figure 1.5 shows that changes in the crude birth rate have been paralleled by those in the general fertility rate, which peaked around 1961 at 275 per 1,000 in the Inuit population of the Northwest Territories and 250 per 1,000 in that of Northern Quebec. Since 1961, the fertility rate in the

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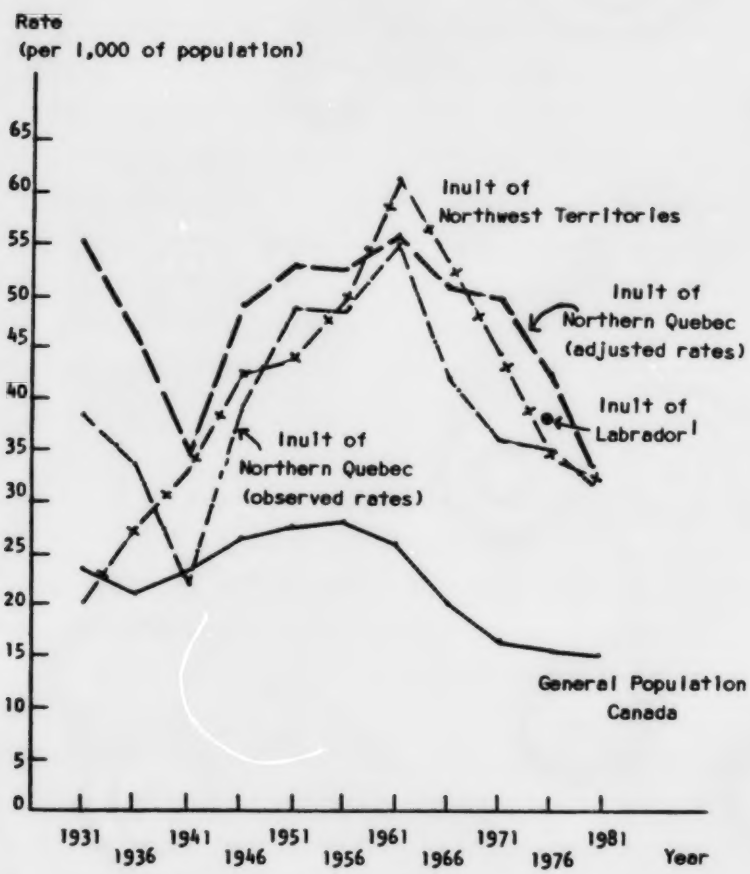
3 In the sections on fertility and mortality, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon cannot be analysed as one region, given the available data.

Figure 1.4

Crude Birth Rates of the Inuit and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1931 to 1981

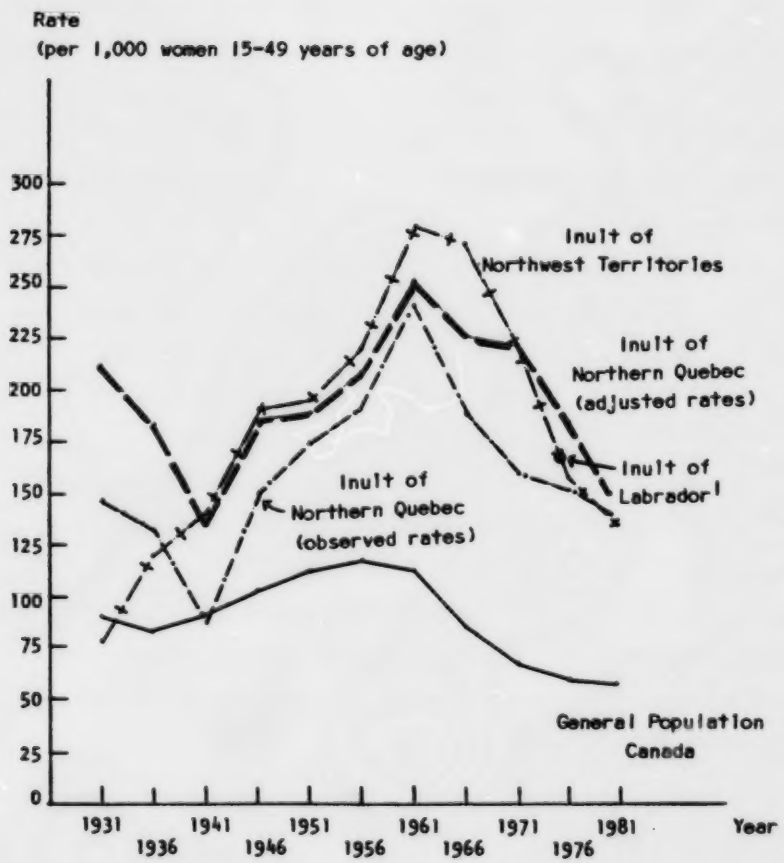


Note: 1. Estimate available only for the period 1971-1981.

Sources: See the statistical sources in Appendix B.1.

Figure 1.5

General Fertility Rates of the
Inuit and General Populations,
Canada and Regions, 1931 to 1981



Note: 1. Estimate available only for the period 1971-1981.

Sources: See the statistical sources in Appendix B.1.

Inuit population has decreased constantly, and it currently fluctuates between 130 and 150 per 1,000. By comparison, in the Canadian population as a whole, the fertility rate is 57 per 1,000. The increase in the Inuit rates between 1941 and 1961 was due not only to more complete recording of births, but also to improved health conditions, since more pregnancies went full term. On the other hand, the decline in fertility since 1961 is linked with the growing use of contraceptives, natural fertility giving way to controlled fertility.

Finally, Table 1.2 provides additional information on fertility in the Inuit population, including, for the first time, the Inuit of southern Canada.

It follows that there are twice as many children on average in Inuit families as in families of the total population. However, although the average for the Inuit varies little from one region to another in the North, Inuit families in the South have close to the same number of children as Canadian families in general. The greater number of children in Inuit families is clearly due to a higher fertility rate, but the difference observed between Inuit in the North and those in the South could be attributable to a younger age structure or other factors. However, a cursory examination of the age distribution of the Inuit population does not indicate significant differences between the northern and southern Inuit. The southern Inuit should therefore have a lower fertility rate and resemble the overall Canadian population in this regard.

1.5 Mortality

Among the indicators that can be used to estimate the level of mortality in a population, the **crude death rate** (the ratio of deaths to total population) is the simplest, but also the least specific, since it is affected by the age structure and health conditions of the population. Figure 1.6 indicates that the crude death rate among the Inuit has decreased

Table 1.2

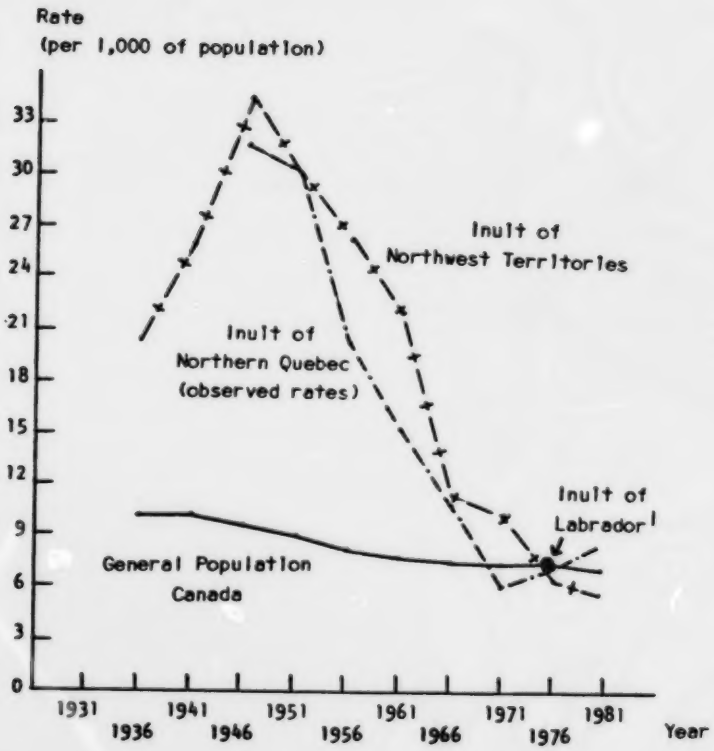
Average Number of Children per Family among the Inuit and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1981

Inuit Family					General Population
Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT + Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
2.7	2.8	3.2	3.1	1.5	1.4

Source: Tabulation SC 28 (Appendix B.2).

Figure 1.6

Crude Death Rates of the Inuit and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1936 to 1981



Note: 1. Estimate available only for the period 1971-1981.

Sources: See the statistical sources in Appendix B.1.

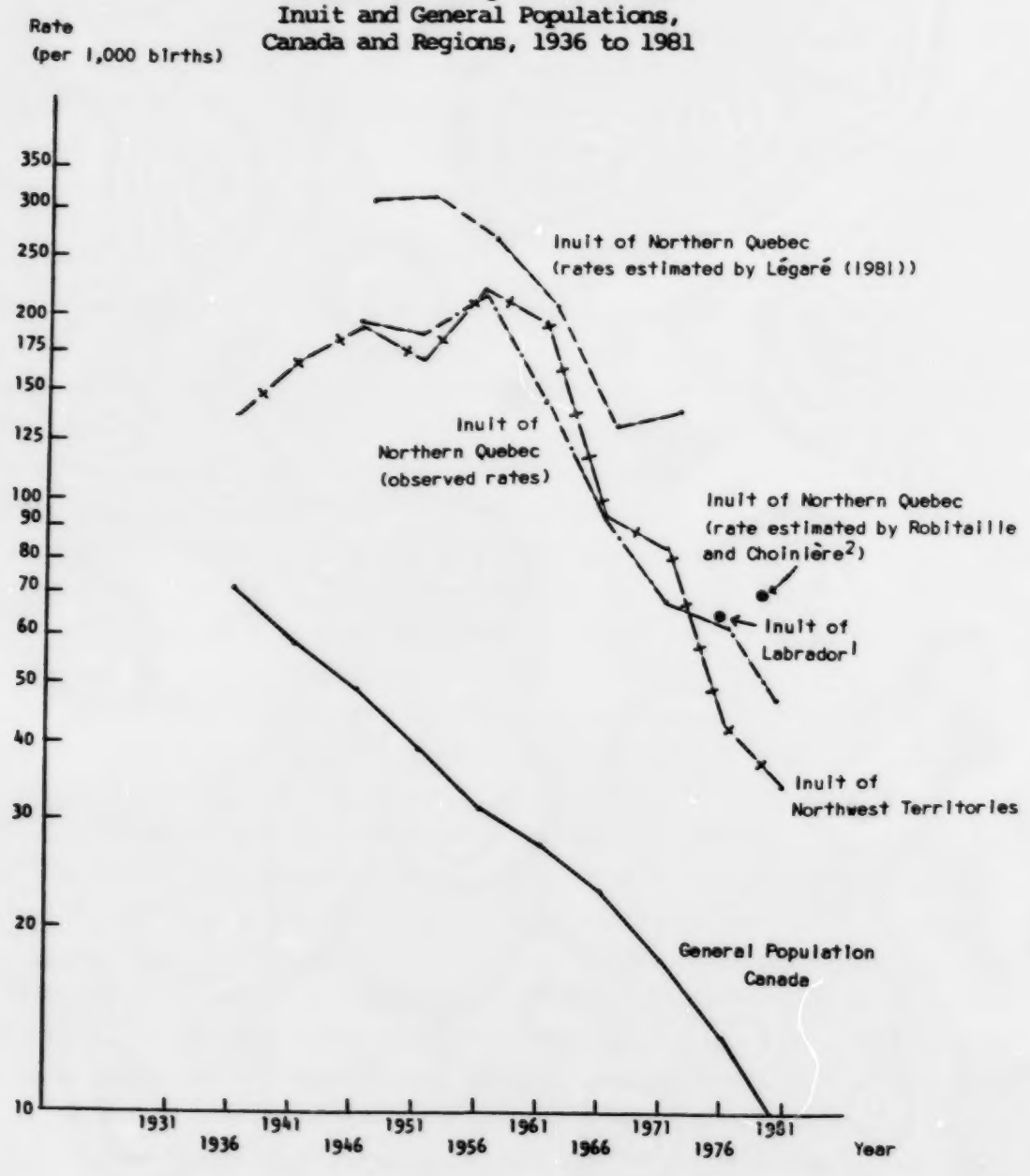
significantly since 1946, and has become close in recent years to the rate for the Canadian population as a whole. The increased mortality shown for the Northwest Territories between 1936 and 1946 and for Northern Quebec since 1971 may reflect a better recording of the deaths in the vital statistics. Finally, the recent similarity between the rates of the Inuit and those of the general population of Canada does not indicate comparable mortality, since the younger age structure of the Inuit population tends to lower the rates for that group.

The **infant mortality rate** (the ratio of deaths of children under one year to births) permits a better comparison between mortality in the Inuit population and that in the general population of Canada. This rate is not affected by age structure, and is an excellent indicator of social and health conditions of a population. For Northern Quebec, we have given not only observed rates, but also estimated rates based on the assumption that not all infant deaths are registered in the vital statistics. These rates have been estimated by Légaré (1981) for the periods 1945-49 to 1970-74, and by the authors of this report for the period 1976-1981.

In Figure 1.7, a semi-logarithmic scale is used in order to facilitate comparison between variations in the infant mortality rates of northern Inuit and the Canadian population as a whole. This figure shows that, although infant mortality in the Inuit population has declined substantially since the 1950s up to the present (from 300 per 1,000 to around 50 per 1,000), the rate remains not less than five times higher than the Canadian average. Infant mortality among the Inuit is thus still very high today. An analysis by region shows that in the mid-1970's the rates in the Northwest Territories seem to have begun moving away significantly from the Northern Quebec rates while before that time they were between the observed and estimated rates for Northern Quebec. Although this difference may indicate that mortality is lower among the Inuit in the Northwest Territories than among those in Northern Quebec and Labrador, such a conclusion is questionable given the

Figure 1.7

Infant Mortality Rates of the Inuit and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1936 to 1981



Note: 1. Estimate available only for the period 1971-1981.
2. See Appendix A.2 for an explanation of the methodology used.

Sources: See the statistical sources in Appendix B.1.

small numbers involved. Thus with a confidence interval of 95 per cent, that is, a 5 per cent probability of error, the recent infant mortality rates should be between 28 and 67 per 1,000 for Northern Quebec, between 26 and 42 per 1,000 for the Northwest Territories and between 49 and 82 per 1,000 for Labrador. In the Canadian population as a whole, the confidence interval is negligible because the calculations are based on a large number of infant deaths and births. Due to the possible effects of the small numbers, the rates calculated for the Inuit obviously lack precision. If we also take into account the fact that not all events are recorded in the vital statistics, we cannot firmly conclude that mortality varies from one region to another.

The decrease in the infant mortality rate observed since 1951 among the Inuit is attributable to the establishment of a health care network and prenatal and postnatal care programs.[4] Since the Inuit have adopted a sedentary way of life, they have better access to medical care. Furthermore, air transport is available to bring patients to hospitals in the South, if necessary. However, the gap between the rates in the Inuit population and those in the overall Canadian population clearly indicates the Inuit's unfavourable social and health care conditions. According to Tremblay (1981), high infant mortality in the Inuit population is linked with the continued prevalence of infectious diseases.

Since **life expectancy at birth** is calculated using the rates for various ages, an analysis of this indicator gives an overall picture of differences between mortality of the Inuit and the general population of Canada. The life expectancy figures for the Inuit must be considered maximum values because they are based on the deaths recorded in the vital statistics, in which the coverage of deaths is very incomplete. Due to the small numbers involved, life expectancy could not be calculated separately for each sex.

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4 See Lachance (1979).

Table 1.3 shows that the life expectancy at birth of the Inuit population has risen by some 30 years from 1940 to the present, while that of the Canadian population as a whole has increased by 10 years in the same period. If mortality in the Inuit population were calculated using the most favourable hypothesis, which is that the number of deaths not recorded is negligible, life expectancy among the Inuit would be presently between 60 and 66 years; that is, it is the same as for the general population of Canada in the 1940-42 period.

Given the small numbers on which the calculations are based and the quality of the data available, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about regional differences. The situation today, however, would seem to be somewhat better in the Northwest Territories than in Northern Quebec and Labrador.

The breakdown of deaths by cause gives information on the types of deaths and the social and health conditions in the Inuit population. Table 1.4 shows that accidents (injuries and poisonings) are the major causes of death among the Inuit: 21 per cent in Northern Quebec, 34 per cent in the Northwest Territories and 40 per cent in Labrador, compared with only 9 per cent among Canadians as a whole. Deaths due to respiratory diseases and perinatal complications are also more prevalent in the Inuit population than in the total population. In contrast, neoplasms and circulatory diseases are much less common among the Inuit.

The breakdown of deaths by cause reflects well the particular social and health conditions of the Inuit. They live in villages where the infrastructure and services provided are often inadequate. Moreover, the high rate of accidental deaths, often related to excessive consumption of alcohol, illustrates the Inuit's difficulties in adjusting to a rapidly changing northern society, where traditional activities and values seem to be increasingly out of place.

Table 1.3

Life Expectancy at Birth for the Inuit and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1940 to 1982

Inuit Population						General Population	
Labrador		Northern Quebec		Northwest Territories		Canada	
Periods	e_0	Periods	e_0	Periods	e_0	Periods	e_0[2]
						1940-1942	65
		1941-1951	35	1941-1950	29		
						1950-1952	69
		1951-1961	39	1951-1960	37	1955-1957	70
						1960-1962	71
		1961-1971	59	1963-1966	51	1965-1967	72
						1970-1972	73
1971-1980	60[3]	1971-1981	62			1975-1977	74
				1978-1982	66	1980-1982	75

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Average life expectancy of men and women.
3. Calculated on the basis of the infant mortality rate, according to Lederman's equation (1969): $e_0MF = 87.209 - 3.3584 \sqrt{1q_0MF \times 1{,}000}$, where 87.209 and 3.3584 are constants.
e_0MF = life expectancy at birth, both sexes.
$1q_0MF$ = mortality quotient at one year of age, both sexes.

Sources: See the statistical sources in Appendix B.1.

Table 1.4

Deaths by Cause in the
Inuit and General Populations,
Canada and Regions, Recent Periods

Cause of Death	Inuit Population						General Population
	Labrador 1971-1980		Northern Quebec 1974-1979		NWT 1975-1981		
	No.	%	No.[3]	%	No.	%	%
Infectious and parasitic diseases	-	-	9	7	6	1	0
Neoplasms	-	-	13	10	79	13	24
Diseases of the nervous system and sense organs	-	-	10	8	14	2	1
Diseases of the circulatory system	-	-	27	21	96	16	47
Diseases of the respiratory system	-	-	21	16	85	14	6
Perinatal complications	-	-	13	10	42	7	1
Injuries and poisonings	68	40	28	21	208	34	9
Symptoms, signs, and ill-defined conditions	-	-	10	8	62	10	1
Other	-	-	-	-	27	4	10
TOTAL	169	100	131	100	619	100	100

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. Consists of deaths by cause for the Inuit of Ungava Bay in the 1974-78 period and for the Inuit of certain Hudson Bay villages in the 1976-79 period.

Sources: See the statistical sources in Appendix B.1.

1.6 Migration

On the basis of the 1981 Census, the Inuit population five years of age and over can be classified by place of residence in 1981 and 1976. This information permits an estimate of the exchange of migrants between the various regions, and is the only usable source for studies of Inuit migration. Given the incomplete coverage of births and deaths in the vital statistics, and the differential under-enumeration in the censuses, the net migration in the population cannot be estimated validly using residual methods.

Table 1.5 shows that the Inuit population has a lower proportion of migrants than the general population of Canada. Thus among Inuit in the northern regions, the rate varies between 10 and 15 per cent, while among the general population of Canada, it is 23 per cent. In contrast, the proportion of migrants is higher (38 per cent) among Inuit living in the South.

Migration involving Labrador took place only with the South, while Northern Quebec had a net increase in its exchanges with the Northwest Territories. This gain in Northern Quebec is explained by the closure of Killinik[5] village, located on an island in the Northwest Territories bordering on Northern Quebec and Labrador, whose residents were relocated to various villages along the Ungava Bay coast. The South showed negative net migration with each of the three northern regions. This finding is surprising, given that the growth in the Inuit population in the South between 1971 and 1981 was too great to be attributable solely to natural increase. Several hypotheses can be suggested to explain this situation. One would be that the Inuit population in the South rose through migration between 1971 and 1976, and then decreased after 1976 as Inuit returned to the North. A much

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5 On this point, see Dawson (1984) in particular.

Table 1.5

1981 Region of Residence by Mobility Status and
1976 Region of Residence for the Inuit and General Populations
5 Years of Age and Over, Canada, 1981

Mobility Status of Population 5 Years of Age and Over		Inuit Population					General Population
		Region of Residence in 1981					
		Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
Non-migrant		17,975 83%	1,155 88%	3,505 90%	11,495 85%	1,820 62%	17,211,615 77%
Migrant		3,725 17% (100%)	150 12% (100%)	385 10% (100%)	2,090 15% (100%)	1,095 38% (100%)	5,068,450 23% (100%)
Place of Residence of Migrants in 1976	Labrador	140 (4%)	115 (77%)	-	-	25 (2%)	10,540 *
	Northern Quebec	160 (4%)	-	110 (29%)	25 (2%)	25 (2%)	11,755 *
	NWT and Yukon	2,130 (57%)	-	205 (53%)	1,765 (84%)	160 (15%)	23,530 *
	Southern Canada	1,220 (33%)	35 (23%)	65 (17%)	300 (14%)	825 (75%)	4,466,425 (88%)
	Outside Canada	70 (2%)	5 (3%)	-	5 *	65 (6%)	556,195 (11%)
TOTAL		21,695 100%	1,305 100%	3,885 100%	13,590 100%	2,915 100%	22,280,070 100%

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The asterisk indicates less than 0.5 per cent.

Source: Tabulation SC 10 (Appendix B.2).

more plausible explanation could be better census coverage of Inuit in the South in 1981 compared with 1971, and a resulting overestimation of the population increase between the two censuses. In any case the maximum exchange involved 300 Inuit from the South to the Northwest Territories. These migrations among regions are so small that no clear trends are discernible.

PART TWO: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

2.1 Language

Inuktitut is still the language spoken by the majority (67 per cent) of the Canadian Inuit population, according to the information compiled from the census question on the language spoken most often at home (Table 2.1). English comes far behind (32 per cent), and only a negligible proportion of Inuit speak another language at home.

It would be interesting to know whether this situation is stable or whether one of the two languages is gaining ground. Although previous censuses did not cover this area in the same way, we can nevertheless make use of other census data concerning mother tongue (the first language learned in childhood and still understood by an individual). Table 2.1 indicates that a higher proportion of Inuit had Inuktitut as the mother tongue (74 per cent), while only 24 per cent of Inuit had English as the mother tongue. The fact that the transfer of mother tongue to home language[1] favours the English over the Inuktitut group suggests that a sizeable number of persons with an Inuktitut mother tongue now speak English at home.

This conclusion is borne out by a more thorough examination of Table 2.1. Among Inuit having Inuktitut as their mother tongue, over 10 per cent (1,965 persons) speak English at home, while only 3 per cent of Inuit for whom English was the mother tongue (185 persons) reported Inuktitut as the home language. The net loss in the Inuit group is thus 1,780 - that is, a net relative loss of 9.5 per cent (1,780/18,745 = net rate of linguistic mobility toward English).

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1 This term is synonymous with the "language spoken most often at home" in the Dictionary of 1971 Census Terms (Canada, 1972).

Table 2.1

Relationship Between Mother Tongue and Home Language for the Inuit Population, Canada, 1981

Mother Tongue	Home Language				TOTAL
	English	French	Inuktitut	Other	
English	5,905 96%	25 *	185 3%	45 1%	6,150 (24%) 100%
French	70 32%	140 64%	5 2%	5 2%	220 (1%) 100%
Inuktitut	1,965 10%	5 *	16,765 89%	5 *	18,745 (74%) 100%
Other	115 41%	-	15 5%	155 55%	280 (1%) 100%
TOTAL	8,055 32%	165 1%	16,970 67%	205 1%	25,390 (100%) 100%

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The asterisk indicates less than 0.5 per cent.

Source: Tabulation SC 3 (Appendix B.2).

However, although only 32 per cent of Inuit regularly speak English at home, a far higher proportion report that they are able to understand and speak English. By adding the proportion of Inuit knowing English (64 per cent) but not French to that knowing both official languages (2 per cent), we find that 66 per cent of Inuit know English (Table 2.2). Only a negligible proportion (2 per cent) of Inuit know French, which means that one-third (34 per cent) know neither English nor French.

Among the total population of Canada, barely 1 per cent know neither official language; nearly one-third (17 + 15 per cent) know French. The high proportion of Inuit who know neither official language (34 per cent) and speak Inuktitut is thus a unique characteristic of the Inuit. Moreover, a comparison between Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 shows that a sizeable proportion of Inuit are bilingual (Inuktitut-English). Given that 6,645 Inuit at most do not understand Inuktitut (25,390 - 18,745), and 16,655 (16,215 + 440) reported that they speak English, it follows that at least 10,010 (39 per cent) Inuit are bilingual in Inuktitut and English.

Finally, the data concerning knowledge of official languages indicate that the proportion of Inuit speaking English is growing (64 per cent in 1981, compared to only 51 per cent in 1971). In the same period, the proportion of those knowing neither English nor French fell from 47 per cent in 1971 to 34 per cent in 1981. This trend of significant assimilation of Inuit toward English was also evident in the analysis based on mother tongue and home language. Although the great increase in knowledge of English does not necessarily indicate that Inuktitut, which is not an official language, is being abandoned, assimilation toward English becomes easier as more and more Inuit learn that language.

Table 2.2

Knowledge of Official Languages in the Inuit and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1971 and 1981

Official Languages	Inuit Population						General Population
	1971	1981					
	Canada	Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
English only	8,955 51%	16,215 64%	1,390 93%	1,175 26%	10,830 68%	2,830 85%	16,122,900 67%
French only	105 1%	125 *	-	40 1%	5 *	80 2%	3,987,245 17%
English and French	185 1%	440 2%	-	20 *	65 *	355 11%	3,681,960 15%
Neither English nor French	8,305 47%	8,610 34%	110 7%	3,340 73%	5,110 32%	50 2%	291,395 1%
TOTAL	17,550 100%	25,390 100%	1,495 100%	4,570 100%	16,010 100%	3,315 100%	24,083,500 100%

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The asterisk indicates less than 0.5 per cent.

Sources: Tabulations SC 4 and SC 36 (Appendix B.2).

The regions

Table 2.3 shows that, although Inuktitut is the home language for the majority (67 per cent) of the total Inuit population, it is used by only 35 per cent of Inuit in Labrador and by just 1 per cent of those in the South. In contrast, the proportion of Inuit having Inuktitut as their home language in Northern Quebec is 97 per cent, far above the Inuit national average, and the proportion in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon is 75 per cent. Given that English is the only other language spoken by a significant number of Inuit, it follows that the percentages for English are inversely proportional to those for Inuktitut.

Using net rates of linguistic mobility toward English, we can identify the language groups that benefit overall from changes in language. In exchanges between Inuktitut and English, English always comes out ahead, especially where a low percentage of Inuit speak Inuktitut. In southern Canada, where only 1 per cent of Inuit speak Inuktitut at home, the net rate of linguistic mobility[2] toward English is -83 per cent, while in Northern Quebec, where Inuktitut is used by 97 per cent of Inuit, the corresponding rate is only -0.3 per cent. The net rates of mobility toward English among Inuit in Labrador and the Northwest Territories lie in between at -33 per cent and -9 per cent, respectively. These findings are logical, since the decreased use of Inuktitut is the result of assimilation toward English.

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2 Net rate of linguistic mobility toward English = NRE
Number of persons having English as the mother tongue and Inuktitut as the home language = $EMT \cap IHL$
Number of persons having Inuktitut as the mother tongue and English as the home language = $IMT \cap EHL$
Number of persons having Inuktitut as the mother tongue = IMT

$$NRE = \frac{EMT \cap IHL - IMT \cap EHL}{IMT}$$

Table 2.3

Home Language of the Inuit and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1981

Home Language	Inuit Population					General Population
	Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
English	8,050 32%	965 64%	95 2%	4,050 25%	2,940 89%	16,425,905 68%
French	170 1%	-	10 *	10 *	155 5%	5,923,010 25%
Inuktitut	16,965 67%	530 35%	4,450 97%	11,935 75%	45 1%	17,020 *
Other Native Languages	50 *	-	15 *	5 *	25 1%	102,930 *
Other	155 1%	-	-	5 *	155 5%	1,614,625 7%
TOTAL	25,390 100%	1,500 100%	4,575 100%	16,010 100%	3,315 100%	24,083,495 100%

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The asterisk indicates less than 0.5 per cent.

Source: Tabulation SC 2 (Appendix B.2).

Northern Quebec is distinguished from the other regions of Canada by a high proportion of Inuit (73 per cent) who speak neither official language (Table 2.2). The proportions in the Northwest Territories and Labrador are lower (32 per cent and 7 per cent, respectively), while the proportion in southern Canada is almost negligible (2 per cent). Moreover, the South is the only region with a significant percentage (11 per cent) of Inuit knowing both official languages.

In summary, two-thirds of Inuit in Canada speak Inuktitut at home and the same proportion know English. Furthermore, the higher the percentage of Inuit who speak English, the more attractive it becomes to learn. This mobility toward English increases from Northern Quebec, to the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, to Labrador, and peaks in southern Canada.

2.2 Education

Since a high level of education is generally felt to be desirable, the Inuit's situation on this matter can be considered unfavourable compared with that of Canadians in general. As Table 2.4 indicates, only 39 per cent of Inuit had attended grade nine in 1981 which is two times less than the corresponding percentage of the total Canadian population (80 per cent). This disproportion increases at higher educational levels, with the proportion of Inuit having attended university four times less than that of the general population of Canada (4 per cent, as opposed to 16 per cent).

Since the great majority of people leave school before the age of 20, it follows that the statistics concerning the level of educational attainment represent an accomplished fact for most adults. However, as we know that the level of schooling can increase throughout a lifetime, it is interesting to determine with the aid of school attendance statistics whether the low level of schooling among Inuit reflects a past or current situation.

Table 2.4

Cumulative Percentages of Highest Level of Schooling
for the Inuit and General Populations
15 years of Age and Over,
Canada and Regions, 1981

Highest Level of Schooling	Inuit Population					General Population
	Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
None	100	100	100	100	100	100
Grade 1	76	86	67	72	97	98
Grade 5	66	80	47	64	93	96
Grade 9	39	42	27	34	77	80
High School Graduation	19	21	14	15	41	52
University	4	7	3	1	13	16

Notes:
1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The percentages are cumulative from bottom to top. For example, 39 per cent of Canadian Inuit have attended at least Grade 9.

Source: Tabulation SC 8 (Appendix B.2).

Table 2.5 shows that 87 per cent of Inuit 15 years of age and over no longer attend school, in comparison with 82 per cent for this age group among the total Canadian population. Given that Inuit were less likely than the general population to attend school full time, and less than half as likely to attend part time, they were clearly still at a disadvantage in 1981. Moreover, an examination of the Inuit school attendance rate which fell from 15 per cent (100 - 85 per cent) in 1971 to 13 per cent in 1981, shows that this unfortunate situation will become even worse if this 2 per cent decrease is repeated in the current ten-year period.

However, analysis of the data on highest level of schooling by age indicates clearly that the level of schooling of the Inuit has risen substantially over the past thirty years.

Table 2.6 shows that 90 per cent of the Inuit between 15 and 19 years of age have attended grade five, while the corresponding proportion for the over-40 age group is only 27 per cent. Although substantial progress has been made, even the Inuit groups with the highest level of schooling (from 15-19 to 25-29 years of age) are still below the Canadian national average. Among Canadians as a whole, 96 per cent have attended grade five, compared with only 90 per cent of Inuit in the 15-19 years age group, which ranks highest. The situation is even worse with respect to university education: only 8 per cent of Inuit between 25 and 29 years of age (the age group with the highest level of schooling) have attended university, while the corresponding proportion of the general population of Canada over 15 years of age is 16 per cent (Table 2.4).

The regions

The breakdown by region shows that Inuit schooling is far from uniform across the country (Tables 2.4 and 2.5). Regional differences similar to those observed for the linguistic variables exist for both school attendance

Table 2.5

Percentages of School Attendance for the Inuit and General Populations
15 Years of Age and Over,
Canada and Regions, 1971 and 1981

School Attendance	Inuit Population						General Population	
	Canada		Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada	
	1971	1981	1981				1971	1981
Full time	12	11	12	8	10	16	13	12
Part time	3	2	2	2	2	5	4	6
Not attending school	85	87	85	91	88	79	83	82
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Sources: Tabulations SC 9 and SC 37 (Appendix B.2).

Table 2.6

Cumulative Percentages of Highest Level of Schooling
by Age Groups for the Inuit Population
15 Years of Age and Over, Canada, 1981

Highest Level of Schooling	Age Group													
	15-19	% CUM	20-24	% CUM	25-29	% CUM	30-34	% CUM	35-39	% CUM	40 +	% CUM	Total	% CUM
None	50	100	60	100	60	100	245	100	380	100	2,745	100	3,530	100
Grade 1	265	98	170	98	190	97	235	85	190	68	305	34	1,360	76
Grade 5	1,530	90	855	90	490	86	395	71	195	51	420	27	3,885	66
Grade 9	1,225	44	695	55	385	58	250	47	110	35	250	17	2,920	39
High School Graduation	225	7	525	26	500	37	415	32	225	25	380	11	2,265	19
University	10	0	95	4	150	8	125	8	70	6	85	2	535	4
TOTAL	3,310		2,390		1,780		1,665		1,170		4,180		14,500	

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The percentages are cumulative from bottom to top. For example, 90 per cent of Inuit between 15 and 19 years of age have attended at least Grade 5.

Source: Tabulation SC 8 (Appendix B.2).

and level of schooling. The situation is least favourable in Northern Quebec, while the statistics for Inuit in southern Canada are very similar to those for the general population. Labrador ranks in between, and is the northern region that best represents the situation of the Canadian Inuit population as a whole. Finally, the Northwest Territories and Yukon region holds an intermediate position between Northern Quebec and Labrador. The only anomaly in this pattern is the low percentage of Inuit in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon who have attended university: the proportion is only half that in Northern Quebec, and one-twelfth the proportion of the general population of Canada.

2.3 Labour Force Activity

The unemployment rate, as measured by the 1981 Census, is twice as high among the Inuit (15 per cent) as among the total population (7 per cent) (Table 2.7). However, we feel that the Inuit employment situation is even bleaker than is apparent from the unemployment rate, which indicates only the percentage of the labour force without a job. Since the labour force is limited to those currently working or actively looking for work, many Inuit without employment but available for work are probably excluded because they have not actively looked for a job in the month prior to the census. It seems logical to assume that the percentage of those who are no longer considered part of the labour force because they are not looking for work would be higher among the Inuit than among the general population. This supposition is justified by the fact that the Inuit live mostly in isolated communities where employment opportunities are rare and easily identified. The fact that the participation rate (the labour force as a percentage of population 15 years of age and over) is much lower among the Inuit (48 per cent) than among the total population (65 per cent) supports this theory and tends to confirm that job opportunities for Inuit are very scarce.

Table 2.7

Labour Force Activity of the Inuit and General Populations 15 Years of Age and Over, Canada and Regions, 1981

Labour Force Activity	Inuit Population					General Population
	Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
In labour force (F) (F) = (E) + (U)	6,990	540	860	4,270	1,320	12,054,155
Employed (E)	5,925	395	775	3,565	1,190	11,167,915
Unemployed (U)	1,065	145	80	705	130	886,235
Not in labour force (I)	7,515	380	1,715	4,615	800	6,555,130
TOTAL (T) (T) = (F) + (I)	14,500	920	2,575	8,890	2,125	18,609,285
Participation rate (F/T)	48%	59%	33%	48%	62%	65%
Unemployment rate (U/F)	15%	27%	9%	16%	10%	7%
Proportion employed (E/T)	41%	43%	30%	40%	56%	60%

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Source: Tabulation SC 11 (Appendix B.2).

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the distribution of Inuit by type of work (Table A.5, in Appendix A) shows that traditional activities (fishing, hunting and trapping) now account for only a negligible proportion of occupations reported in the census. In fact, only 180 Inuit reported to be doing such work, much fewer than the number indicated by other sources. In Northern Quebec, not one individual responded in the "fishing, hunting and trapping" category, while other sources report 588 hunters in this region (Beaulieu, 1983).

It is possible that traditional activities were simply not considered to be employment. If so, this would account for the small number of persons who responded in this category. In any case, the data on Inuit employment should be used very cautiously and a large margin of error must be assumed in interpreting them. Nevertheless, the above data seem to indicate that the Inuit no longer regard fishing, hunting and trapping - their traditional activities - as their principal occupations, if the number of hours of work is taken as a criterion. However, this does not necessarily mean that these activities no longer play a major role, since they may provide a back-up livelihood for the Inuit and are therefore very important. Moreover, fishing, hunting and trapping may be practised much more intensively in other periods of the year than when the census was taken.

The regions

The breakdown by region reveals a surprising situation in which the unemployment rate for the Inuit in Northern Quebec (9 per cent) is only slightly higher than the rate for the general population of Canada (7 per cent), and lower than the rates in the three other regions. These findings are further proof that the unemployment rate is not an adequate indicator of the scarcity of employment in the North. Since the concept of "labour force", in reference to the North, can lead to confusion, a new indicator seems to be required. The proportion employed is the rate of employment among all those

15 years of age and over. This indicator, in which the denominator includes both those available and those unavailable for work, is theoretically less specific than the unemployment rate, where the "labour force" concept applies. However, in the population in which we are interested, for the reasons mentioned previously, the proportion employed seems to be a more appropriate indicator. In addition, the same pattern of variations between the regions exists as was found in examining the linguistic and schooling variables. While the proportion of Canadian Inuit who are employed is 41 per cent compared with 60 per cent for the general population, only 30 per cent of Inuit in Northern Quebec have jobs. The Northwest Territories and Yukon region follows at 40 per cent, a proportion which is very close to that for the overall Inuit population. Labrador's rate is slightly higher at 43 per cent, while the level for Inuit in southern Canada at 56 per cent approaches the Canadian national average.

It is thus not an exaggeration to state in conclusion that the employment situation among the Inuit is much worse than an examination of the unemployment rate would indicate. In the North, the situation of the Inuit is very disadvantaged in comparison with that of the corresponding total Canadian population. The discrepancy certainly would be even more striking if the employment situation of the Inuit and non-native people living in the North were compared, given that non-native people generally migrate to the North to take up employment. Moreover, it is undoubtedly no coincidence that the proportion of Inuit employed is lowest in the regions with the lowest level of schooling.

2.4 Income

A comparison of the annual average income of Inuit 15 years of age and over having an income ($8,272), with that of the corresponding general population of Canada ($12,993), demonstrates another aspect in which the Inuit are greatly disadvantaged, even in 1980 (Table 2.8). In addition, considering

Table 2.8

Income of the Inuit and General Populations
15 Years of Age and Over,
Canada and Regions, 1970 and 1980

Income	Inuit Population										General Population			
	1970		1980								1970		1980	
	Canada	$CUM	Canada	$CUM	Labrador	$CUM	Northern Quebec	$CUM	NWT and Yukon	$CUM	Southern Canada	$CUM	Canada	$CUM
Without income	2,985 23$	100	3,925 27$	100	175 20$	100	1,135 44$	100	2,185 25$	100	440 21$	100	3,616,710 24$	100	2,799,350 15$	100
Under $5,000	3,630	67	5,050	73	410	80	805	56	3,310	75	520	79	4,132,855	76	4,446,945	85
$5,000 to $9,999	1,240	28	2,245	38	190	36	215	25	1,475	38	365	55	2,376,755	49	3,359,315	61
$10,000 to $14,999	670	14	1,220	23	70	15	130	16	720	22	305	38	1,990,350	33	2,597,785	43
$15,000 to $19,999	390	7	940	14	20	8	125	11	580	14	215	23	1,504,885	20	1,979,930	29
$20,000 and over	235	3	1,125	8	50	5	165	6	620	7	280	13	1,567,740	10	3,425,960	18
With income	6,165 67$		10,575 73$		745 80$		1,440 56$		6,705 75$		1,690 79$		11,572,580 76$		15,809,930 85$	
TOTAL	9,150 100$		14,500 100$		920 100$		2,575 100$		8,885 100$		2,125 100$		15,189,295 100$		18,609,285 100$	
Average income of those having an income (in 1980 dollars)	6,045		8,272		6,277		7,892		7,792		11,384		10,907		12,993	
Average income of the overall population (in 1980 dollars)	4,073		6,033		5,083		4,413		5,880		9,055		8,310		11,038	

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The percentages are cumulative from bottom to top. For example, 11 per cent of Inuit in Northern Quebec had an income of at least $15,000 in 1980.

Sources: Tabulations SC 13, SC 13A, SC 39 and SC 39A (Appendix B.2).

that the proportion of people having no income is approximately two times higher among the Inuit than in the general population, the situation is even more alarming. Thus, among those 15 years of age and over, the average income is almost twice as high for the general population ($11,038) as for the Inuit ($6,033). This relative disparity in average income is also evident when the proportions of the Inuit population are compared with the general population in the various income brackets. While the proportion of Inuit 15 years of age and over without income (27 per cent) is around twice as high as that of the corresponding general population (15 per cent), the inverse proportion applies with respect to income equal to or more than $10,000 (23 per cent of Inuit, compared with 43 per cent of the general population of Canada).

Table 2.9 supports these findings with information on the major source of income, which was reported as government transfer payments for proportionately nearly three times as many Inuit as the general population. This is further proof, if any is needed, of the unfavourable economic situation of Canadian Inuit.

By examining Table 2.8 once again, we can see how the incomes of the Inuit and general populations have changed between 1970 and 1980. However, care must be taken in comparing the results from the two censuses, since the respondent universe was modified to exclude inmates of institutions in 1981. However, this change in the universe should not affect the major trends identifiable from the data in Table 2.8. To begin with, the average income of the Inuit in 1970 ($4,073), which was much lower than that of the general population of Canada ($8,310), increased by only $1,960 during the ten-year period to 1980, compared with the much larger increase of $2,728 in the average income of all Canadians. Given this trend, the Inuit will never catch up with the general population. However, more optimistic observers might attach hope to the fact that the Inuit's average income rose more in relative terms. In fact, between 1970 and 1980, the relative increase was 48 per cent

Table 2.9

Major Source of Income of the Inuit and General Populations
15 Years of Age and Over,
Canada and Regions, 1980

Major Source of Income	Inuit Population					General Population
	Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
Without Income	3,925	175	1,135	2,185	440	2,799,355
With Income	10,575 100%	745 100%	1,445 100%	6,705 100%	1,685 100%	15,809,935 100%
Employment Income	8,090 77%	510 69%	840 58%	5,445 81%	1,315 78%	11,831,915 75%
Government transfer payments	1,720 16%	175 24%	460 32%	880 13%	200 12%	1,001,860 6%
Other Income	765 7%	55 7%	145 10%	390 6%	170 10%	2,976,155 19%
TOTAL	14,505	915	2,575	8,890	2,120	18,609,290

Notes: 1. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Source: Tabulation SC 14 (Appendix B.2).

for the Inuit, and 33 per cent for the general population. However, given that the income level of the Inuit is much lower to begin with, those rates of increase would not result in income parity with the general population until the year 2036...even from this perspective, the Inuit's economic situation is therefore not much improved.

The Inuit also lost ground between 1970 and 1980 in terms of the percentage of the Inuit and general populations at the various income levels. Although there was a 6 percentage point increase between 1970 and 1980 in the proportion of Inuit who had incomes, the increase for the general population was 9 percentage points. Similarly, the rise in the proportion of those having incomes of $20,000 and over was 5 percentage points for the Inuit, but 8 percentage points for the Canadian population as a whole. Even though the sample in the two censuses did not cover exactly the same populations (inmates of institutions being excluded in 1981), the Inuit, who were already at a disadvantage, clearly made little progress between 1970 and 1980 in improving their income position relative to the general population.

The regions

The breakdown by region in Table 2.8 shows the usual North-South difference with the South faring significantly better. Of the three northern regions, Northern Quebec ranks first for average income of Inuit with income, and third for average income of all Inuit 15 years of age and over. These findings no doubt reflect the higher salaries in Quebec, coupled with a smaller employment proportion of those 15 years of age and over. In Labrador, the situation seems to be reversed. This is a paradox, since the Labrador Inuit have the best knowledge of English and highest level of schooling of all the northern Inuit.

Regarding the average income of the overall Inuit population, we find, with the exception of Labrador, the same order as for the other variables with southern Canada ranking first and Northern Quebec last.

2.5 Interaction of Variables

We have just seen that, with respect to schooling, labour force activity, and income, the Inuit are disadvantaged in comparison with the general population of Canada. We have also shown that the Inuit population has a unique linguistic structure, in which Inuktitut is dominant. In this section we will use tables which cross tabulate these variables to illustrate the interaction among them. Although we have neither the intention nor the means to establish causal relationships, these variables are far from being independent and certain linkages become evident when they are cross tabulated. It is these linkages that we will attempt to show.

Table 2.10 gives the distribution of Inuit by knowledge of official languages and highest level of schooling. A horizontal reading of the cumulative percentages indicates that the proportion of Inuit having attended at least grade nine is almost four times as high in the group knowing only English (49 per cent) as in the group knowing neither English nor French (13 per cent). This difference is to be expected, since secondary schooling is generally in English, and those not knowing English or French must therefore learn English in order to attend high school. Due to the small numbers involved, the data on Francophones cannot be interpreted very meaningfully. However, it may be significant that 85 per cent of Inuit knowing both English and French have attended at least grade nine. This is the only linguistic subgroup in which the percentage of those with nine years or more of schooling is close to the general population average of 80 per cent (Table 2.4).

Table 2.11, which combines the labour force activity and official language variables, again shows that the situation of the group knowing neither English nor French is much less favourable than that of the group knowing only English. This latter group in turn ranks well below the group knowing both English and French which itself is similar to the general

Table 2.10

Relationship Between Knowledge of Official Languages and Highest Level of Schooling for the Inuit Population 15 Years of Age and Over, Canada, 1981

Knowledge of Official Languages	Highest Level of Schooling				
		Grades 4 and under	Grades 5 to 8	Grades 9 and above	TOTAL
English only		1,570	3,540	4,825	9,930
	% CUM	100%	84%	49%	
French only		20	20	50	95
	% CUM	100%	74%	53%	
English and French		5	40	290	340
	% CUM	100%	97%	85%	
Neither English nor French		3,295	290	555	4,140
	% CUM	100%	20%	13%	
TOTAL		4,890	3,880	5,725	14,500
	% CUM	100%	66%	39%	

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The percentages are cumulative from right to left. For example, 20 per cent of those speaking neither English nor French have at least Grade 5.

Source: Tabulation SC 15 (Appendix B.2).

Table 2.11

Relationship Between Knowledge of Official Languages and Labour Force Activity for the Inuit Population 15 Years of Age and Over, Canada, 1981

Knowledge of Official Languages	Labour Force Activity							
	Labour Force (F) (F)=(E)+(U)	Employed (E)	Unemployed (U)	Not In Labour Force (I)	Total (T) (T)=(F)+(I)	Participation Rate (F/T)	Unemployment Rate (U/F)	Proportion Employed (E/T)
English only	5,320	4,485	840	4,610	9,925	54%	16%	45%
French only	30	25	5	60	95	32%	17%	26%
English and French	240	205	40	95	335	72%	17%	61%
Neither English nor French	1,395	1,220	180	2,740	4,140	34%	13%	29%
TOTAL	6,985	5,930	1,060	7,515	14,500	48%	15%	41%

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Source: Tabulation SC 16 (Appendix B.2).

population of Canada. The relevant indicators for the above observations are the participation rate and the proportion employed, for which the values for the most advantaged group (the one knowing both English and French) are twice as high as for the least advantaged group (the one knowing neither official language). Although we included the unemployment rate in Table 2.11 for reference purposes, we are convinced that it has little relevance for the Inuit population, as shown by the fact that the group knowing neither official language and having a participation rate of only 34 per cent has the lowest unemployment rate.

In both Tables 2.10 and 2.11, the values of certain variables tend to change simultaneously. For example, it is difficult to know whether an Inuk learned English because of attendence at an English high school, or the other way around. Similarly, an Inuk may have learned English through work, or have been hired because of a knowledge of English. We cannot and do not intend to analyse the causal order of these relationships. However, causal links are suggested, though formal proof is lacking, in Table 2.12 (schooling and labour force activity) and Table 2.13 (schooling and income): participation and income levels tend to increase with the level of schooling, since schooling is generally completed before or soon after entry into the labour force.

Table 2.12 shows that if those with less than grade one are excluded, the participation rate and the proportion employed increase with the highest level of schooling. While the proportion employed in the group without any schooling is 30 per cent, the proportion increases from a low of 25 per cent in the group having attended grades one to four to 79 per cent in the one having attended university. The only surprising result in this general relationship is that the proportion employed is higher among those with no schooling than among those with grades one to four. Table 2.6, which was examined earlier, on the highest level of schooling by age groups, may help to explain this situation. It indicates that 78 per cent of those having less than one year of schooling are 40 years of age and over and that the

Table 2.12

Relationship Between Highest Level of Schooling and Labour Force Activity for the Inuit Population 15 Years of Age and Over, Canada, 1981

Highest Level of Schooling	Labour Force Activity							
	Labour Force (F) (F)=(E)+(U)	Employed (E)	Unemployed (U)	Not in Labour Force (I)	Total (T) (T)=(F)+(I)	Participation Rate (F/T)	Unemployment Rate (U/F)	Proportion Employed (E/T)
Less than Grade 1	1,235	1,075	165	2,300	3,530	35%	13%	30%
Grades 1 to 4	405	340	65	955	1,365	30%	16%	25%
Grades 5 to 8	1,675	1,310	365	2,210	3,885	43%	22%	34%
Grades 9 to 13	1,510	1,270	235	1,410	2,920	52%	16%	43%
Other[1]	1,700	1,500	195	580	2,275	75%	12%	66%
University	470	425	35	65	535	88%	7%	79%
TOTAL	6,985	5,925	1,065	7,510	14,500	48%	15%	41%

Notes: 1. Includes the following categories: high school graduation certificate, trades certificate or diploma, and other non-university education.
2. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
3. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Source: Tabulation SC 17 (Appendix B.2).

proportion of this age group at any other schooling level does not exceed 23 per cent. We can therefore reasonably conclude that age is linked positively with income, and that age is more important than the level of schooling among those with less than one year of schooling.

Table 2.13 presents a similar picture with respect to the average income of the overall Inuit population by highest level of schooling. Among those with less than grade one, the average income of this overall population is $5,492. Dropping to a low of $3,567 for the group having attended grades one to four, the average income then increases to a maximum of $14,353 for the group having attended university. It seems logical to believe that the level of education has a positive effect on the average income of the overall Inuit population. Since the average income of this overall population is a weighted average based on the average income of a proportion of the population, with or without income, it is interesting to note that a positive relationship exists between schooling and each of the income components.

However, as was the case for the proportion employed, this positive relationship between the average income of the overall Inuit population, or by income component and the level of schooling does not apply to the group having less than grade one. Here again, the reason is probably that those with less than grade one and, to a lesser degree, those having attended grades one to four only are much older than those with other levels of schooling. If we assume that income increases with age, the phenomenon can be seen as the real effect of the differential age structure of the various groups and not as an apparent disruption in the relationship between schooling and income.

2.6 Differences by Sex

By studying the socio-economic variables, we were able to identify certain characteristics that demonstrate the specific conditions of the Inuit population. It is also pertinent to examine the extent to which the

Table 2.13

Relationship Between Highest Level of Schooling and
Income for the Inuit Population
15 Years of Age and Over, Canada, 1981

Highest Level of Schooling	Without Income	With Income	Income ($) Under 5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-14,999	15,000-19,999	20,000 & Over	Total	Average Income (Those with Income)	Average Income (Overall Population)
Less than Grade 1	805	2,730	1,395	730	260	165	185	3,535	$ 7,111	$ 5,492
% CUM	100	77	77	38	17	10	5			
Grades 1 to 4	585	780	465	175	60	40	35	1,360	$ 6,220	$ 3,567
% CUM	100	57	57	23	10	6	3			
Grades 5 to 8	1,415	2,470	1,495	440	220	180	130	3,885	$ 6,020	$ 3,827
% CUM	100	63	63	25	14	8	3			
Grades 9 to 13	860	2,060	1,000	410	245	200	200	2,920	$ 8,185	$ 5,774
% CUM	100	70	70	36	22	14	7			
Other[1]	230	2,050	600	400	385	275	385	2,270	$11,611	$10,485
% CUM	100	90	90	64	46	29	17			
University	40	495	95	85	50	80	185	535	$15,512	$14,353
% CUM	100	93	93	75	59	50	35			
TOTAL	3,925	10,575	5,050	2,240	1,220	940	1,125	14,500	$ 8,272	$ 6,033
% CUM	100	73	73	38	23	14	8			

Notes: 1. Includes the following categories: secondary school graduation certificate, trades certificate or diploma, and other non-university education.
2. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
3. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Sources: Tabulations SC 19 and SC 19A (Appendix B.2).

population is homogeneous. Major regional differences have already been discussed. The Inuit in southern Canada generally have characteristics quite distinct from those of northern Inuit and more similar to those of the general population of Canada. However, the data do not tell us the extent to which these characteristics are attributable to the region or to migration. For example, it is difficult to say whether the relatively high level of schooling among the Inuit in southern Canada is the result of more favourable conditions there or a selection process by which the Inuit with the most schooling migrate to the South.

Since sex is an ascribed characteristic, there is no question of such selection. We therefore felt it worthwhile to analyse whether the differences between the sexes were greater than the differences between the Inuit and the general population. Table 2.14, which presents several socio-economic indicators by sex and ethnic origin, shows that the principal distinction is generally between being Inuit or not. However, with respect to income and labour force activity, the values for Inuit men are closer than those for Inuit women to the averages for Canadians as a whole. However, a comparison between Inuit men and men in general would no doubt show that ethnic origin is a more important variable than sex.

There are however differences in the values for Inuit men and women, and these distinctions are far from being mere chance phenomena. As Table 2.14 indicates, the women are more disadvantaged than the men in nearly all respects.

2.7 Religion

The proportion of Protestants among the Inuit (77 per cent) is almost twice as high as that among Canadians in general (41 per cent) (Table 2.15). In contrast, the proportion of Inuit Catholics is two times lower than that of the overall population (19 per cent, versus 47 per cent). Only 3 per cent of

Table 2.14

Various Indicators
(Language, Level of Schooling, Labour Force Activity and Income)
by Sex for the Inuit and General Populations,
Canada, 1981

Number of Indicator	Indicator	Inuit Population			General Population
		Male	Female	Total	Total
(1)	Percentage of those whose home language is Inuktitut	67%	67%	67%	*
(2)	Percentage of those knowing English (including those knowing French as well)	65%	66%	66%	82%
(3)	Percentage of those having at least five years of schooling (15 years of age and over)	67%	65%	66%	96%
(4)	Percentage of those having attended university (15 years of age and over)	5%	3%	4%	16%
(5)	Participation rate (15 years of age and over)	57%	39%	48%	65%
(6)	Unemployment rate (15 years of age and over)	15%	16%	15%	7%
(7)	Proportion employed (15 years of age and over)	48%	33%	41%	60%
(8)	Average income of those with income (15 years of age and over)	$10,121	$5,748	$8,272	$12,993
(9)	Percentage of those with income (15 years of age and over)	83%	64%	73%	85%
(10)	Percentage of those with income whose major source is government transfer payments (15 years of age and over)	15%	18%	16%	6%

Note: 1. The asterisk indicates less than 0.5 per cent.

Sources:
(1) Tabulation SC 2
(2) Tabulation SC 4
(3) and (4) Tabulation SC 8
(5), (6), and (7) Tabulation SC 11
(8) Tabulation SC 13A
(9) Tabulation SC 13
(10) Tabulation SC 14
(See Appendix B.2).

Table 2.15

Religion of the Inuit and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1981

Religion	Inuit Population					General Population
	Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
Protestant	19,510	1,430	4,500	12,145	1,440	9,912,640
%	77	96	99	76	43	41
Catholic	4,910	35	70	3,575	1,225	11,402,600
%	19	2	2	22	37	47
North American Indian or Inuit religion	20	-	5	-	15	4,210
%	*		*		*	*
Agnostic, atheist, no religion	750	30	-	265	455	1,783,530
%	3	2		2	14	7
Other religions	205	-	-	20	180	980,515
%	1			*	5	4
TOTAL	25,395	1,495	4,570	16,005	3,315	24,083,495
%	100	100	100	100	100	100

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The asterisk indicates less than 0.5 per cent.

Source: Tabulation SC 5 (Appendix B.2).

Inuit reported having no religion, which is two times less than the proportion in the general population (7 per cent). A very small proportion (0.1 per cent) of Inuit indicated that they had a North American Indian or Inuit religion.

The regions

In Northern Quebec and Labrador, over 95 per cent of the Inuit are Protestant. In contrast, of those in southern Canada, only 43 per cent are Protestant and 37 per cent Catholic; the relationship between these values is similar to that for the general population, though the proportion of Catholics in the latter group is 47 per cent. The Northwest Territories and the Yukon are in an intermediate position, with 76 per cent Protestants and 22 per cent Catholics.

2.8 Family Structure

Having focussed on the characteristics of individual Inuit in the preceding sections, it will now be interesting to take a look at the immediate environment in which they live, that is, the family and the household, in that order.

Our information on the family concerns its structure and ethnic composition (Table 2.16).

A comparison of the Inuit and general populations indicates that lone-parent families are 50 per cent more common among the Inuit. Given that Inuit families generally have substantially more children and much lower incomes, the Inuit are here again in a very unfavourable situation.

Table 2.16

Family Structure and Average Number of Children
In Census Families of the Inuit and General Populations,
Canada and Regions, 1981

Family Structure	Inuit Population					General Population
	Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
Husband-wife family Average no. of children	4,355 84% 2.8	280 84% 3.0	525 73% 3.4	2,510 84% 3.2	1,035 89% 1.5	5,611,495 89% 1.3
Inuit husband - Inuit wife Average no. of children	2,905 56% 3.3	155 46% 3.3	485 68% 3.5	2,155 72% 3.4	95 8% 1.1	-
Inuit husband - non-Inuit native wife Average no. of children	90 2% 2.2	-	-	35 1% 2.5	60 5% 1.9	-
Inuit husband - non-native wife Average no. of children	535 10% 1.4	50 15% 2.4	5 1% 2.0	75 3% 1.3	410 35% 1.3	-
Inuit wife - non-Inuit native husband Average no. of children	100 2% 1.9	10 3% 1.7	5 1% 3.3	35 1% 2.5	50 4% 1.4	-
Inuit wife - non-native husband Average no. of children	725 14% 1.9	60 18% 2.8	25 3% 1.7	210 7% 2.0	425 37% 1.7	-
Male lone-parent family Average no. of children	240 5% 2.1	15 4% 2.2	55 8% 1.9	145 5% 2.3	20 2% 1.5	124,360 2% 1.7
Female lone-parent family Average no. of children	615 12% 2.5	45 13% 2.2	130 18% 2.6	345 12% 2.6	100 9% 2.1	589,435 9% 1.7
TOTAL for the families Average no. of children	5,205 100% 2.7	335 100% 2.8	715 100% 3.2	2,995 100% 3.1	1,160 100% 1.5	6,325,315 100% 1.4

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Source: Tabulation SC 28 (Appendix B.2).

This additional family burden is typical not only for lone-parent families, but also for husband-wife families in which the average number of children is more than twice (2.8 children) that of the general population of Canada (1.3 children).

The regions

We have mentioned a number of times that Inuit living in southern Canada have characteristics similar to those of the overall Canadian population. Table 2.16 may help explain these findings: in 72 per cent of Inuit families in the South, one spouse is not of native origin. It is therefore understandable that the southern Inuit would have characteristics that resembled those of the general population, with which they are more closely linked. An example of this similarity is the average number of children which for Inuit living in southern Canada (1.5) is much closer to that for the general population (1.4) than to that for Inuit in general (2.7).

2.9 Household Structure

While Table 2.16 presents the family structure, Table 2.17 gives the distribution of individuals in private households, according to whether or not they are members of a census family (husband, wife, never-married children).

The proportion of those who are members of families is slightly higher among the Inuit (89 per cent) than among the population as a whole (87 per cent). In addition, the "child under 18 years of age" category accounts for 47 per cent of the Inuit population but only 28 per cent of the overall population. This is not very surprising, given the much younger age structure of the Inuit population. As well, the proportion of Inuit who are not members of a family but are living with relatives is twice as high (7 per cent) as that of the general population (3 per cent). Finally, individuals in

Table 2.17

Status of Individuals in Private Households of the Inuit and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1981

Status in Household	Inuit Population										General Population	
	Canada		Labrador		Northern Quebec		NWT and Yukon		Southern Canada		Canada	
Member of a family	21,580	89%	1,295	87%	3,440	88%	14,210	91%	2,640	81%	20,603,660	87%
Husband	3,530	15%	215	14%	500	13%	2,260	14%	560	17%	5,611,495	24%
Wife	3,725	15%	225	15%	520	13%	2,405	15%	575	18%	5,609,300	24%
Male lone parent	240	1%	15	1%	60	2%	145	1%	20	1%	124,380	1%
Female lone parent	615	3%	45	3%	130	3%	340	2%	100	3%	589,435	2%
Child under 18 years of age	11,450	47%	640	43%	1,815	46%	7,750	50%	1,245	38%	6,596,990	28%
Child 18 years of age or over	2,025	8%	165	11%	425	11%	1,305	8%	140	4%	2,072,055	9%
Not a member of a family	2,710	11%	195	13%	485	12%	1,405	9%	625	19%	3,193,720	13%
Living alone	455	2%	10	*	35	*	185	1%	225	7%	1,690,360	7%
Living with relatives	1,650	7%	135	9%	395	10%	965	6%	160	5%	776,825	3%
Living with persons other than relatives	600	2%	50	3%	55	1%	260	2%	240	7%	726,535	3%
TOTAL of persons in private households	24,290	100%	1,490	100%	3,920	100%	15,615	100%	3,260	100%	23,797,380	100%
Residents of non-institutional collective households	700				635		35		30		149,385	

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The asterisk indicates less than 0.5 per cent.

Sources: Tabulations SC 7 and SC 7A (Appendix B.2).

households without any relatives account for only 4 per cent of the Inuit, compared with 10 per cent of the overall population. These findings indicate that a greater proportion of Inuit than the general population of Canada live in families.

The regions

Since Table 2.17 is quite complex, a breakdown by region yields very small numbers. Great care must therefore be taken in drawing conclusions about regional differences, particularly where these differences are slight. We do not find here the same clear structure as for some other previous variables, especially concerning the three northern regions. However, the South stands out in that the proportion of Inuit living as a member of a family in a household is much lower (81 per cent) than the corresponding proportion of Inuit in both the other regions and in Canada as a whole (87 per cent). The Northwest Territories and the Yukon are at the other end of the spectrum with a corresponding 91 per cent.

In the breakdown of those living outside the census family, the southern region is again distinct, due to the large proportion living alone (7 per cent) or with persons other than relatives (7 per cent). A total of 14 per cent of Inuit in the South thus live in households without any relatives; this percentage is higher than that of the Canadian population in general (7 + 3 = 10 per cent) and over four times that of any of the three other northern regions.

2.10 Housing

We can use the census data to answer certain questions about housing, such as how much the Inuit pay for housing, how many rooms there are per person, how old the dwelling is and whether the respondent believes it needs repairs. However, the census does not tell us whether the respondents are

Table 2.18

Tenure, Gross Rent or Owner's Major Payments[2] and Average Number of Persons Per Room in Private Households of the Inuit[1] and General Populations, Canada and Regions, 1981

Tenure, Gross Rent or Owner's Major Payments, and Average Number of Persons per Room	Inuit Population										General Population	
	Canada		Labrador		Northern Quebec		NWT and Yukon		Southern Canada		Canada	
TOTAL	(100%)	4,660	(100%)	300	(100%)	665	(100%)	2,790	(100%)	905	(100%)	8,046,330
Average rent or major payment		$154		$167		$76		$101		$371		$339
Rent or payment exceeding 25% of household income		18%		18%		35%		6%		40%		29%
Owner	(16%)	730	(70%)	210	(2%)	15	(4%)	120	(42%)	385	(61%)	4,917,425
Average major payments		$279		$146		$215		$236		$367		$367
Payments exceeding 25% of household income		22%		10%		33%		25%		27%		23%
Tenant	(84%)	3,930	(30%)	90	(98%)	650	(96%)	2,675	(58%)	520	(39%)	3,128,905
Average gross rent		$131		$212		$73		$95		$374		$296
Gross rent exceeding 25% of household income		17%		39%		35%		6%		48%		38%
Average number of persons per room		1.2		1.2		2.0		1.3		0.6		0.5

Notes: 1. The ethnic origin of the households is determined by the origin of the person responsible for the payments.
2. Monthly payments.
3. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
4. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Sources: Tabulations SC 30 and SC 32 (Appendix B.2).

housed adequately or whether they are satisfied with their housing. Nevertheless we feel that these are important questions, and we will try to answer them to some extent by using certain standards. We will then compare the housing situation of the Inuit with that of the general population of Canada, in order to highlight the specific housing conditions of the Inuit.

The first aspect to be examined is the average number of persons per room. The space in a dwelling is generally regarded as a resource and, for statistical purposes, a dwelling having an average of more than one person per room is considered to be crowded. If this standard is accepted, Inuit dwellings, which have 1.2 persons per room on average, tend to be crowded (Table 2.18). In contrast, the national average is well below this level, at 0.5 persons per room.

Table 2.19 gives additional information on housing quality; namely, the respondent's perception of the condition of the dwelling. In spite of Statistics Canada's efforts to state it in a very precise manner, this question is subjective and the response depends on the respondent's expectations. Nevertheless, 18 per cent of Inuit respondents felt that their dwelling required major repairs, while only 7 per cent of the general population gave this response. Furthermore, the fact that 26 per cent of Inuit dwellings lack central heating and 14 per cent have no bathroom - compared with 9 and 1 per cent, respectively, on a national scale (Canada, 1984) - is convincing evidence that the Inuit are disadvantaged in terms of housing.

The following data show that the Inuit are a minority with unique housing conditions. First, Table 2.18 indicates that only 16 per cent of Inuit dwellings are owned, while the corresponding proportion for the general population is 61 per cent. Second, the average monthly payments (mortgage, heating and so on, or gross rent) of Inuit households are less than half the

Table 2.19

Condition of Dwelling for Private Households
of the Inuit and General Populations,[1]
Canada and Regions, 1981

Condition of Dwelling	Inuit Population					General Population
	Canada	Labrador	Northern Quebec	NWT and Yukon	Southern Canada	Canada
TOTAL	(100%) 4,685	(100%) 295	(100%) 665	(100%) 2,790	(100%) 925	(100%) 8,281,530
Regular maintenance only	(56%) 2,635	(49%) 145	(71%) 475	(51%) 1,425	(63%) 585	(76%) 6,322,175
Minor repairs required	(26%) 1,195	(37%) 110	(12%) 80	(28%) 775	(25%) 230	(17%) 1,407,600
Major repairs required	(18%) 850	(15%) 45	(16%) 105	(21%) 585	(12%) 110	(7%) 551,755

Notes: 1. The ethnic origin of the households is determined by the origin of the person responsible for the payments.
2. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
3. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Source: Tabulation SC 33 (Appendix B.2).

national average. Third, the percentage of dwellings where payments are over 25 per cent of household income is lower among the Inuit, in particular for tenants.

Finally, Table 2.20 shows that the Inuits' dwellings, half of which were constructed after 1971, are much newer than those of the general population of Canada, only a third of which were built in the same period. This information and the fact that the proportion of Inuit dwellings needing major repairs is nearly three times that of dwellings in Canada as a whole raise questions about the quality of the dwellings and their maintenance (Table 2.19).

The regions

With one exception, the indicators of the quality of housing (number of persons per room and percentage of dwellings requiring major repairs) conform to the regional pattern found for most other variables. The average number of persons per room (Table 2.18) among Inuit in southern Canada (0.6) is very close to the national average (0.5). Labrador comes next (1.2), followed by the Northwest Territories and the Yukon (1.3) and finally Northern Quebec with 2 persons per room. The same hierarchy is found with respect to the percentage of dwellings needing major repairs (Table 2.19), except that the positions of Northern Quebec (16 per cent) and the Northwest Territories (21 per cent) are reversed.

The familiar order reappears in the statistics on average rent or major payment (Table 2.18) which, among the Inuit in southern Canada, even exceeds the Canadian national average ($371, compared to $339). Similarly, the dwellings (Table 2.20) of the southern Inuit are the oldest (34 per cent built after 1971), while the newest ones are in Northern Quebec (60 per cent built after 1971).

Table 2.20

Period of Construction of Dwelling for
Private Households of the Inuit and General Populations,[1]
Canada and Regions, 1981

Period of Construction of Dwelling	Inuit Population										General Population	
	Canada	%CUM	Labrador	%CUM	Northern Quebec	%CUM	NWT and Yukon	%CUM	Southern Canada	%CUM	Canada	%CUM
TOTAL	4,680	100	300	100	665	100	2,795	100	930	100	8,281,535	100
1920 or earlier	105	100	5	100	5	100	5	100	95	100	888,105	100
1921-1945	135	98	10	100	10	100	10	100	105	89	1,053,135	89
1946-1960	475	95	60	97	60	98	175	100	180	78	1,856,050	77
1961-1970	1,660	85	100	77	195	89	1,140	93	230	59	1,799,745	54
1971-1981	2,310	49	130	43	400	<u>60</u>	1,470	53	315	<u>34</u>	2,687,490	32

Notes: 1. The ethnic origin of the households is determined by the origin of the person responsible for the payments.
2. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
3. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown, and the cumulative percentages are approximate.

Source: Tabulation SC 31 (Appendix B.2).

Finally, a different regional pattern emerges regarding the percentage of owners (Table 2.18). A greater proportion of Inuit own their dwellings in Labrador (70 per cent) than in southern Canada (42 per cent). One reason may be that owners' payments in Labrador are on average only 69 per cent ($146/$212) of the gross rent paid by tenants, while the two types of payments are nearly equal in the South. Moreover, although we cannot assume a causal relationship, it is nonetheless noteworthy that in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, and Northern Quebec, where less than 5 per cent of Inuit own their dwellings, the housing costs of owners average 2.5 to 3 times those of tenants.

2.11 Characteristics of the Principal Inuit Communities

In the preceding sections, the characteristics of the Inuit population were analysed for Canada and for the regions. The regional disparity observed shows that the Inuit are not a uniform group. A study of certain characteristics by community permits a comparison of the situations of the Inuit in the principal communities where they live. The characteristics discussed were selected according to their pertinence, and the communities were chosen on the basis of population size (over 600 inhabitants) and the proportion of Inuit in the population (over 20 per cent).

Table 2.21 describes the Inuit in the 18 principal communities in terms of the following eight variables: (1) the average number of children per family; (2) the proportion of the population knowing English; (3) the proportion of the population 15 years of age or over having more than grade eight; (4) the participation rate of the population 15 years of age and over; (5) the unemployment rate of the population 15 years of age and over; (6) the average income of the population 15 years of age and over who have an income; (7) the proportion of dwellings requiring major repairs; and (8) the average number of persons per room.

Table 2.21

Selected Characterstics of the Inuit Population,
Canada and Communities, 1981

Communities	1 No.	1 Rank	2 %	2 Rank	3 %	3 Rank	4 %	4 Rank	5 %	5 Rank	6 $	6 Rank	7 %	7 Rank	8 No.	8 Rank	Average Rank
Labrador																	
Nain	3.1	10	89.1	5	35.8	9	64.2	1	28.8	15	5,427	17	20.0	13	1.4	10	10.0
Northern Quebec																	
Inukjuak	3.1	10	29.5	16	31.1	12	43.2	13	9.4	3	8,788	5	4.8	2	2.0	16	9.6
Kuujjuaq	2.8	5	56.8	11	16.2	17	35.1	16	7.7	2	7,703	9	20.0	11	1.5	14	10.6
Kuujjuaraapik	n.a.		22.2	17	64.6	1	57.0	5	4.4	1	13,529	1	n.a.		n.a.		5.0
Povungnituk	3.0	8	0.7	18	1.3	18	0.0	18	n.a.		2,106	18	0.0	1	2.5	17	14.0
Northwest Territories																	
Aklavik	2.6	1	100.0	1	40.8	5	50.0	11	33.3	16	6,763	15	33.3	15	0.9	1	8.1
Baker Lake	2.9	6	73.5	9	39.4	7	50.5	10	22.0	11	6,984	14	33.3	15	1.1	2	9.2
Cambridge Bay	2.7	3	89.3	4	43.8	4	57.5	4	14.3	7	7,451	11	12.5	6	1.1	2	5.1
Cape Dorset	3.2	13	50.0	14	30.5	13	50.6	9	22.0	11	7,496	10	16.0	8	1.4	10	11.0
Coppermine	2.6	1	86.6	6	29.0	14	31.5	17	27.6	14	7,728	8	6.7	4	1.2	5	8.6
Eskimo Point	3.4	15	63.9	10	36.4	8	38.8	14	10.5	4	6,286	16	5.7	3	1.2	5	9.4
Frobisher Bay	3.0	8	73.6	8	33.3	10	58.2	3	15.6	9	9,057	4	19.2	10	1.2	5	7.1
Igloolik	3.6	17	47.6	15	28.4	15	54.4	7	35.1	17	7,432	12	18.2	9	1.4	10	12.8
Inuvik	2.7	3	100.0	1	50.0	2	62.5	2	14.0	6	11,157	2	8.7	5	1.1	2	2.9
Pangnirtung	3.4	15	53.8	12	33.0	11	52.9	8	23.9	13	7,011	13	28.6	13	1.8	15	12.5
Pond Inlet	2.9	6	52.3	13	23.9	16	47.8	12	12.5	5	9,437	3	13.6	7	1.4	10	9.0
Rankin Inlet	3.2	13	74.1	7	44.2	3	54.7	6	15.4	8	8,406	6	31.0	14	1.2	5	7.8
Tuktoyaktuk	3.1	10	99.3	3	40.7	6	38.4	15	18.2	10	8,251	7	50.0	17	1.3	9	9.6
Canada	2.7		65.6		39.5		48.2		15.2		8,272		18.2		1.2		

Notes:
1. Average number of children per family.
2. Per cent of population knowing English.
3. Per cent of population 15 years of age and over having more than grade eight.
4. Participation rate of the population 15 years of age and over.
5. Unemployment rate of the population 15 years of age and over.
6. Average income of the population 15 years of age and over with income.
7. Per cent of dwellings requiring major repairs.
8. Average number of persons per room.
9. n/a = not available. For Kuujjuaraapik, the data for the private household universe are unavailable, since according to the 1981 Census the entire population of the village lived in a single collective household. For Povungnituk, no one is in the labour force; the participation rate is thus nil and the unemployment rate cannot be calculated.
10. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.

Sources: Tabulations SC 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 34 and 35 (Appendix B.2).

For each variable, the communities were ranked from 1 to 18, according to the level of economic or social development in comparison with the general population of Canada. The community that ranks first is thus the one with the smallest average number of children per family, the greatest proportion of individuals knowing English, the greatest proportion of individuals having more than grade eight, the highest participation rate, the lowest unemployment rate, the highest average income, the smallest proportion of dwellings requiring major repairs, and the smallest average number of persons per room. Similarly, the community that ranks last is the one with the largest average number of children per family, the smallest proportion of individuals knowing English, the smallest proportion of individuals having more than grade eight, the lowest participation rate, the highest unemployment rate, the lowest average income, the greatest proportion of dwellings requiring major repairs, and the largest average number of persons per room.

The resulting table shows the great disparity between the communities, both within and among the regions. For example, the proportion of dwellings needing major repairs in the Northwest Territories ranges from a low of 5.7 per cent in Eskimo Point to 50 per cent in Tuktoyaktuk. As well, the proportion of the population knowing English is only 0.7 per cent in Povungnituk in Northern Quebec and 100 per cent in Aklavik and Inuvik in the Northwest Territories. Since the numbers involved are small, they must be interpreted with care.

A comparison between the census data and the information in the Register of the Inuit Population of Northern Quebec indicates that the census data for some communities in Northern Quebec contained some errors (Appendix A.1); certain findings are therefore rather surprising. For example, Povungnituk ranks last for most of the variables, but ranks first with respect to the quality of its dwellings, since none required major repairs. Similarly, the average income in Kuujjuaraapik is much higher than that in the

other communities, even though only 22 per cent of the population know English. The ranking of the communities clearly differs greatly from one variable to another, and definite trends are difficult to identify.

The last column in the table gives each community's average ranking based on all the variables. This information provides a general indication of the Inuit population's level of development in each community. Inuvik ranks first (2.9), while Povungnituk is last (14.0), just below Igloolik and Pangnirtung. Inuvik differs from these three communities in having the lowest proportion of Inuit in the population (20.5 per cent, compared with 98.7 per cent, 96.0 per cent and 94.0 per cent, respectively) (Appendix A.4).

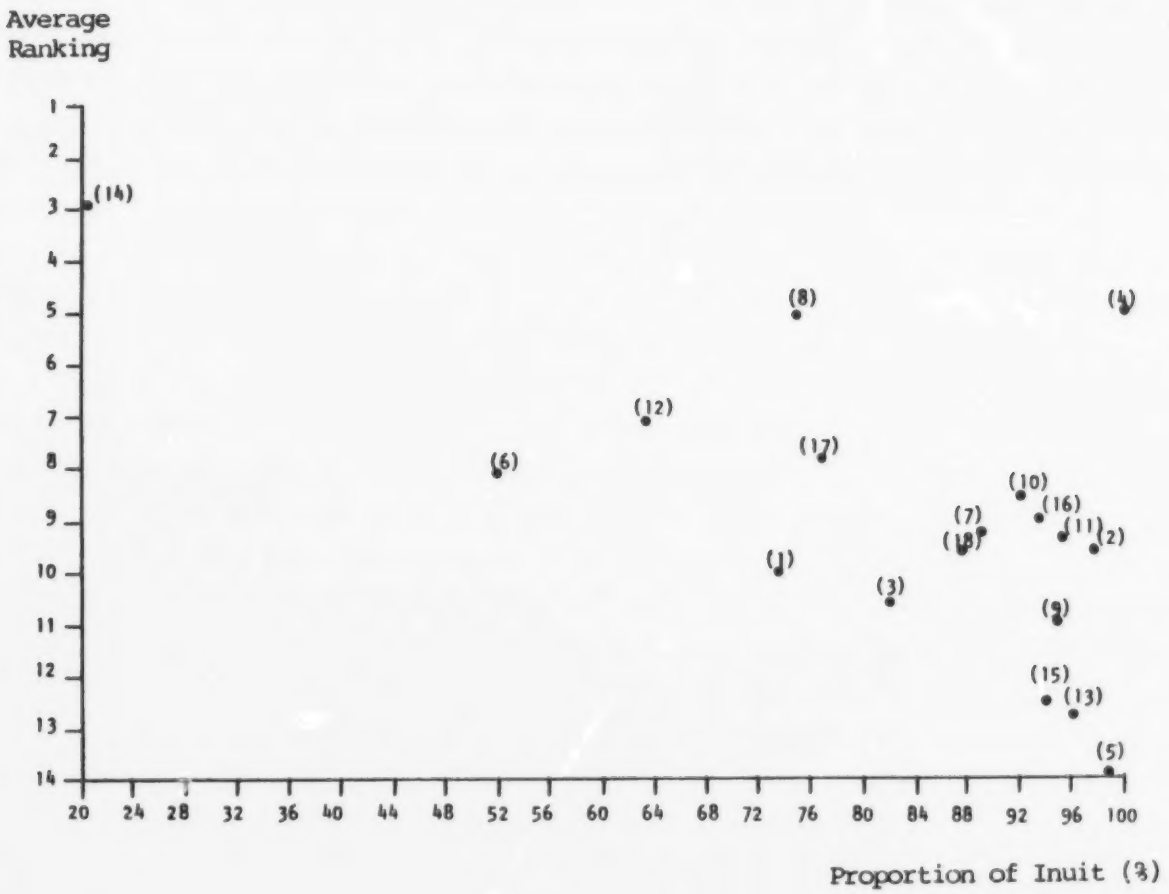
The average ranking, which can serve as an indicator of the economic and social development of the Inuit population in the various communities, may be linked to the presence of non-native people there. Figure 2.1 shows the distribution of the principal Inuit communities by the proportion of Inuit in the population (horizontal axis) and the average ranking of the communities (vertical axis). There seems to be a connection between a low average ranking and a high proportion of Inuit in a community's total population.

However, some communities do not fit into this pattern very well. For example Kuujjuaraapik had a high average ranking, yet the percentage of Inuit in the population is high. The data compiled for this village likely contain some errors. The analysis in Appendix A.1 thus seems to indicate that the census data concerning the Inuit populati : of Kuujjuaraapik include information on the community's non-native population. This error would explain why Kuujjuaraapik ranked first with respect to schooling and average income.

The scattergram in Figure 2.1 thus helps explain the dispersion of the communities by average ranking: the level of development in a community may be linked in part to the presence of non-native people. The same observation was made with respect to the regions, the characteristics of Inuit living in southern Canada being closer to those of the general population than to those of the northern Inuit. However, the indicator used to measure the economic, and social development of the Inuit is based on an average, while the rankings change from one variable to another. Thus for some variables, certain communities rate highly despite a low proportion of non-native people.

Figure 2.1

Principal Inuit Communities by Average Ranking
and Proportion of Inuit in the General Population, Canada, 1981



(1) Nain; (2) Inukjuak; (3) Kuujjuaq; (4) Kuujjuaraapik; (5) Povungnituk;
(6) Aklavik; (7) Baker Lake; (8) Cambridge Bay; (9) Cape Dorset;
(10) Coppermine; (11) Eskimo Point; (12) Frobisher Bay; (13) Igloolik;
(14) Inuvik; (15) Pangnirtung; (16) Pond Inlet; (17) Rankin Inlet;
(18) Tuktoyaktuk.

Sources: See Table 2.21 and Appendix A.4.

CONCLUSION

We have attempted, in this report, to paint as accurate a picture as possible of the Inuit population and its recent evolution. While this population has the advantages of growth, youthfulness, relatively low assimilation and improving education, it is handicapped by high mortality, high unemployment and difficult living conditions.

It was not our intention to predict the future evolution of the Inuit population. However, not all future possibilities are equally probable, since the present situation largely determines that of the near future. Population projections may identify how the population will evolve with a fair degree of certainty. This information would be extremely valuable for better planning of economic and social development in Inuit communities. Although in the past, change has been relatively slow in the North, major transformations may well be on the way in the coming years. The 1980s must not mark the beginning of the end of a thousand-year-old culture. After all, we have never had so much knowledge that could enable the Inuit to benefit equitably from Canada's economic development.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND RELATED TABLES

A.1 Comparison of Data from the 1981 Census and the Register of the Inuit Population of Northern Quebec

Two major sources of demographic data provide information on the Northern Quebec Inuit: the 1981 Census of Canada and the Register of the Inuit Population of Northern Quebec, which was prepared by the Department of Demography of the University of Montreal. While the census portrays the population at a particular point in time, the register attempts to record all demographic events - births, deaths, marriages and migration - in the region's Inuit population since 1926.

The register is updated periodically using the population lists for the various Inuit villages in Northern Quebec. The most recent lists available were prepared between July 1981 and June 1982, depending on the village. Summing the population figures from the lists of each village as of 3 June 1981 (the census date), it is possible to compare the figures reported in the census with those provided in the lists by subtracting the births and adding the deaths that occurred between the date the list was prepared and 3 June 1981. The resulting comparison permits a summary evaluation of these two sources and a more accurate estimate of the actual Inuit population in Northern Quebec.

Table A.1.1 gives the population figures, from both the register and the 1981 Census, for the Inuit population in the villages of Northern Quebec. It is worth noting that the inclusion of population figures from the register on three different dates gives an indication of recent population trends in each village. The Inuit population of the village of Fort-George had to be estimated for 1979 and 1981 because the jurisdiction of the Kativik Regional Government, which has been responsible for preparing the lists since 1979, does not extend south of the 55th parallel, where Fort-George is located.

Table A.1.1

Inuit Population in Villages of Northern Quebec, According to the Register of the Inuit Population of Northern Quebec and the Census, 1977, 1979 and 1981

Villages	Register			1981 Census (4)	Discrepancy No. (4)-(3)	Discrepancy % (4)-(3)/(3)
	1977-07-01 (1)	1979-01-31 (2)	1981-06-03 (3)			
Kuujjuaraapik	594	592	537	630	93	17
Inukjuak	587	618	638	645	7	1
Povungnituk	711	737	741	735	-6	-1
Akulivik	154	199	273	260	-13	-5
Ivujivik	153	176	200	195	-5	-2
Salluit	473	522	501	465	-36	-7
Kangiqsujuaq	251	275	302	220	-82	-27
Quaqtaq	126	149	157	140	-17	-11
Kangirsuk	264	259	247	260	13	5
Aupaluk	33	65	113	105	-8	-7
Tasiujaq	94	100	104	70	-34	-33
Kuujjuaq	735	788	852	660	-192	-23
Kangiqsualujjuaq	291	320	322	140	-182	-57
Fort-George	57	60[1]	60[1]	40	-20	-33
TOTAL	4,523	4,860	5,047	4,575	-472	-9

Notes: 1. Estimated by the authors of this report.
2. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.

Sources: Lists of the Enrollment Commission, The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, 1977-07-01.
Population lists, Ungava Social Services, Ungava Hospital, Kuujjuaq, January 1979.
Population lists, Kativik Regional Government, Kuujjuaq, 1982.
Tabulation SC 27 (Appendix B.2).

A cursory study of Table A.1.1 reveals a significant difference (approximately 9 per cent) between the total population reported in the census (4,575) and that given in the register (5,047). The 1981 Census figure is nearly the same as the one in the 1977 register. Upon closer examination, we see that the census and register figures differ considerably for five villages (Kuujjuaraapik, Kangiqsujuaq, Tasiujaq, Kuujjuaq and Kangiqsualujjuaq). Only Kuujjuaraapik has a higher population according to the census. It is interesting that the 1981 Census does not report any non-native persons for this village, while the 1979 list, which is the only one giving precise data on the non-Inuit population, indicates about 150 people not of Inuit origin. Extending the examination of census data to the Indian part of the village, called Poste-de-la-Baleine, the number of non-native persons goes from 0 to 40 - 110 fewer than indicated in the 1979 list. The census thus reports 93 more Inuit (630-537) and 110 fewer non-Natives (150-40) in Kuujjuaraapik than do the population lists. In short, the discrepancy between the Inuit population figures provided by these two sources may be due in this case to the inclusion of some non-native people in the Inuit count reported by the census.

For the other four villages in Northern Quebec (Kangiqsujuaq, Tasiujaq, Kuujjuaq and Kangiqsualujjuaq) where the population count differs significantly from one source to the other, the most plausible explanation is an under-enumeration in the census. Whereas the lists indicate that the population in these four villages is increasing, the census figures can be interpreted only as indicating a sudden and unexpected drop in population.

Table A.1.2 permits a comparison based on sex and age. The discrepancy between the two sources is the same for both sexes. With respect to age, however, the greatest differences are in the young age groups.

The major differences between the register and the census thus concern four Ungava Bay villages (Kangiqsujuaq, Tasiujaq, Kuujjuaq and Kangiqsualujjuaq) as well as young age groups. Several hypotheses can be suggested to explain this situation.

Table A.1.2

Inuit Population in Northern Quebec by Age Groups and Sex,
Register of the Inuit Population of
Northern Quebec and Census of Canada, 3 June 1981

Age Group (years old)	Register[1]			Census			Discrepancy		
	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL[2]	Male	Female	TOTAL[2]
0-4	402	377	779	360	325	690	-42	-52	-89
5-9	411	372	783	360	320	680	-51	-52	-103
10-14	380	344	724	330	300	630	-50	-44	-92
15-19	304	313	617	290	275	570	-14	-38	-47
20-24	236	237	473	220	230	445	-16	-7	-28
25-29	158	152	310	145	145	290	-13	-7	-20
30-34	150	143	293	145	125	270	-5	-18	-23
35-39	79	87	166	80	90	170	1	3	4
40-44	96	89	185	95	85	180	-1	-4	-5
45-49	108	99	207	95	100	200	-13	1	-7
50-54	81	67	148	75	70	145	-6	3	-3
55-59	44	51	95	45	45	90	1	-6	-5
60-64	47	38	85	40	35	80	-7	-3	-5
65-69	27	30	57	30	35	65	3	5	8
70-74	10	14	24	15	15	25	5	1	1
75-79	15	16	31	10	15	25	-5	-1	-6
80 +	2	8	10	-	10	15	-2	2	5
TOTAL	2,550	2,437	4,987	2,340	2,230	4,575	-210	-207	-412

Notes: 1. The register counts do not include the inhabitants of Fort-George.
2. Due to random rounding of the counts provided by the census, the total does not always correspond to the sum of the counts by sex.

Sources: Population lists, Kativik Regional Government, Kuujjuaq, 1982.
Tabulation SC 6 (Appendix B.2).

First, the register may have covered the Ungava Bay area better than the Hudson Bay area. The Inuit who do not recognize The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and, consequently, the Kativik Regional Government which is responsible for the population lists, live in three villages along Hudson Bay (Povungnituk, Ivujivik and Salluit).

Second, Social Services and the Kuujjuaq hospital cover only the Ungava Bay villages. Since Povungnituk, which is supposed to be a centre for the villages of the Hudson Bay area, does not yet have these services, the Hudson Bay Inuit must go to the South to receive the same services which are available locally to Ungava Bay Inuit. It is therefore more difficult to account for some of the demographic characteristics of the Hudson Bay Inuit. Where coverage of a village's population in the register is more complete, the discrepancy between the census data and the register data tends to be greater.

Under-counting in the census in comparison with the register may also be attributable to the questionnaire itself. Since the question depends on whether individuals consider themselves members of a particular ethnic group, some people on the Inuit population lists may not have declared their origin as Inuit in the 1981 Census. It is also possible that many Inuit were away hunting or fishing when the census was taken. Finally, the role of the census officer who asks the questions must be taken into account.

On the basis of all these comments, we can say that the Inuit population in Northern Quebec is at least 5,047, which is the total provided by the register on 3 June 1981. Given that the register, and the population lists on which it is based, do not cover completely the Inuit population, 5,047 individuals is the lowest possible estimate.

It would have been interesting to do the same comparison for the Inuit villages of the Northwest Territories, but no population lists of Inuit villages have been prepared since 1970. The only other sources available

apart from the census indicate just the total Inuit population of the Northwest Territories. These figures are quite close to those of the census. In 1981, the government of the Northwest Territories estimated the Inuit population to be 15,539; Health and Welfare Canada reported that the population was 15,796; and the census enumerated 15,910 individuals of Inuit origin.

A.2 Estimation of the Infant Mortality Rate among the Inuit in Northern Quebec

Vital statistics provide the data required (births and deaths of infants under one year of age) to calculate the infant mortality rate among the Inuit of Northern Quebec. However, the registration of these vital events is not complete. Some births take place in Moose Factory, Ontario and the registration of the birth is not always directed to Quebec. Other births and deaths are simply not recorded. Finally, it is very difficult to determine which of the registered births and deaths involve Inuit.

Since 1975, the ethnic origin question on the vital statistics form has been replaced by questions concerning mother tongue and home language. However, not all Inuit speak Inuktitut (Section 2.1), and many Inuit do not declare any language on the form. Although most unregistered births can be traced using various administrative lists, no other source exists for determining infant deaths not recorded in the vital statistics.

Indirect methods must therefore be used to estimate the number of infant deaths and subsequently calculate an infant mortality rate more accurately than would be possible using only the vital statistics.

For the periods between 1945-49 and 1970-74, Jacques Légaré (1981) calculated adjusted infant mortality rates from the distribution of registered births according to the time between the date of birth and the registration of

that birth in the vital statistics. For the years since 1974, we have also tried to calculate an adjusted infant mortality rate, but we could not use Légaré's method because the necessary information has not been available since 1975.

Our estimate of the infant mortality rate involves a comparison between the births registered during the year preceding the preparation of the list, and the surviving infants recorded on the list. Assuming that the list accounts for the entire population, any infants registered as born within the previous year whose names do not show up on the list must have migrated from Northern Quebec or died and the death may or may not be registered.

The individuals in question cannot be more than one year old, since we are concerned only with births that took place during the year before the list was prepared. Infants not enumerated as a result of migration must have left with at least one of their parents.[1] For each infant missing, we therefore checked whether the parents' names appeared on the list. If one of the parents was missing from the list and no death certificate had been issued, we assumed that the infant had migrated.

After the registered deaths were eliminated, cases of individuals registered at birth and missing from the list were counted as unregistered infant deaths.

Figure A.2.1 and Table A.2.1 illustrate the method used. For example, of the 191 infants whose births were registered between 1 July 1976 and 1 July 1977, only 177 appear on the 1 July 1977 list. In the 13 villages covered by the list, there are thus 14 people missing, of whom 6 are accounted

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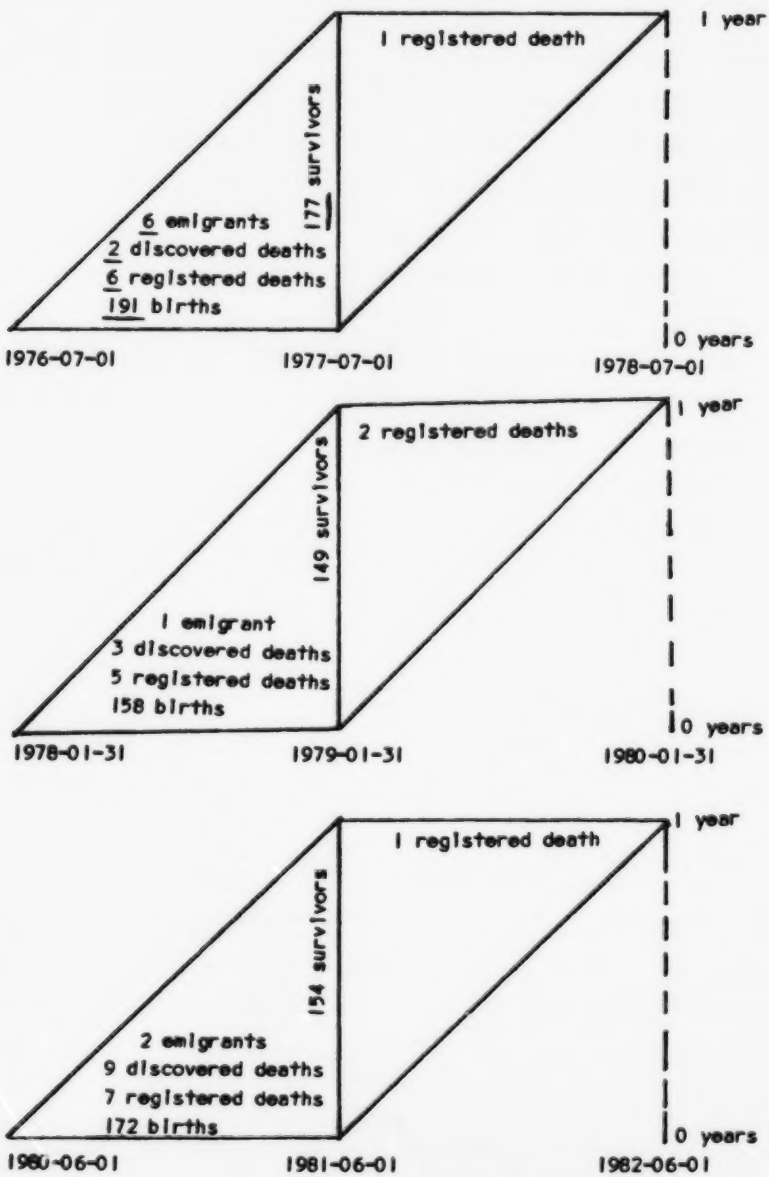
1 In the case of adoption, the child must appear on the list since the adoptive parents are almost always Inuit from Northern Quebec.

Figure A.2.1

Estimate of Infant Deaths not Registered in Vital Statistics among the Inuit in Northern Quebec



Note: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.

Source: Register of the Inuit Population of Northern Quebec, Department of Demography, University of Montreal.

Table A.2.1

Estimation of the Infant Mortality Rate in the
Inuit Population of Northern Quebec, 1976-1982 Period

Generation	Registered Births (1)	Registered Deaths (2)	Discovered Deaths (3)	Total No. of Deaths (4)	Infant Mortality Rate Observed (2) ÷ (1) x 1,000	Estimated (4) ÷ (1) X 1,000
1976-07-01 to 1977-07-01	191	7	2	9	36.65	47.12
1978-01-31 to 1979-01-31	158	7	3	10	44.30	63.29
1980-06-01 to 1981-06-01	172	8	9	17	46.51	98.84
TOTAL	521	22	14	36	42.22	69.10

Note: 1. The figures underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.

Source: Figure A.2.1.

for as registered deaths. The 8 other missing names are the result of either migration or unregistered deaths. Migration can be assumed for 6 of the 8 individuals, since no member of the immediate family appears on the list. The remaining 2 absences can be attributed to unregistered deaths.

Using the same approach for the 1979 and 1981 lists, we calculated that there were 14 unregistered deaths and 22 registered deaths, for a total of 36 infant deaths over the entire period in question.

By dividing the number of deaths calculated in this way by the number of registered births, we can derive an infant mortality rate estimated on the basis of observations during three one-year periods, covering approximately six years from 1 July 1976 to 1 June 1982.

The method used has at least one flaw that tends to reduce the accuracy of the estimated rate. Since it is impossible to determine the unregistered infant deaths that occur after a list is prepared, the upper triangles in the three diagrams of Figure A.2.1 indicate only registered deaths. However, this shortcoming is not a major factor in the calculation of the rate because most of the infant deaths are accounted for in the lower triangle of each diagram. For example, 18 of the 22 registered deaths (82 per cent) are indicated in the lower triangles.

A.3 Total Population Having Inuktitut as Mother Tongue

The 1981 Census indicates that the total number of people with Inuktitut as their mother tongue is 18,845. The figure based on the sample, which excludes inmates of institutions, is 18,775.

Among the Inuit, only 18,745 have Inuktitut as their mother tongue. The reason for the discrepancy is that Inuktitut is the mother tongue of 30 non-Inuit Native people.

In table form, the breakdown of the population having Inuktitut as the mother tongue can be shown as follows:

Non-institutional	
Inuit ethnic origin, Inuktitut mother tongue	18,745[1]
Non-Inuit ethnic origin, Inuktitut mother tongue	+ 30[2]
All origins, Inuktitut mother tongue	18,775[2]
Institutional	
Inuktitut mother tongue	+ 70
TOTAL population having Inuktitut as the mother tongue	18,845[3]

N.B.: Some logical relationships should be pointed out. Since the differences among the figures are small, they are not of major importance. Thus, on the basis of the preceding remarks, it would be incorrect to conclude that only 70 persons whose mother tongue is Inuktitut are in institutions. There may well be others, whose mother tongue was not recorded correctly.

Notes:
1. Table 2.1, page 29.
2. Tabulation SC 3 (Appendix B.2).
3. 1981 Census of Canada (Catalogue 92-902), Mother Tongue, Table 1.11.
4. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

A.4 Inuit and General Populations, Canada, Regions and Northern Communities, 1981

Communities and Regions	Inuit Population	General Population	Proportion of Inuit %	Location on Figure 1.1
Northern Canada	22,075	141,015	15.7	
Labrador	1,495	31,270	4.8	
North West River	55	490	11.2	(1)
Happy Valley-Goose Bay	170	6,690	2.5	(2)
Labrador City	55	11,535	0.5	(3)
Makkovik	85	345	24.6	(4)
Hopedale	305	425	71.8	(5)
Davis Inlet	75	240	31.2	(6)
Nain	690	935	73.8	(7)
Rest of Labrador	60	10,610	0.6	
Northern Quebec	4,570	41,135	11.1	
Kuujjuaraapik	630	635	99.2	(8)
Inukjuak	645	660	97.7	(9)
Povungnituk	735	745	98.7	(10)
Akulivik	260	255	100.0	(11)
Ivujivik	195	195	100.0	(12)
Salluit	465	480	96.9	(13)
Kangiqsujuaq	220	230	95.7	(14)
Quaqtaq	140	145	96.6	(15)
Kangirsuk	260	270	96.3	(16)
Aupaluk	105	100	100.0	(17)
Tasiujaq	70	80	87.5	(18)
Kuujjuaq	660	805	82.0	(19)
Kangiqsualujjuaq	140	150	93.3	(20)
Rest of Northern Quebec	45	36,385	0.1	
Northwest Territories	15,910	45,540	34.9	
Sanikiluaq	365	385	94.8	(21)
Frobisher Bay	1,475	2,335	63.2	(22)
Lake Harbour	230	255	90.2	(23)
Cape Dorset	740	780	94.9	(24)
Pangnirtung	790	840	94.0	(25)
Broughton Island	365	375	97.3	(26)
Hall Beach	340	350	97.1	(27)
Igloolik	710	745	95.3	(28)
Clyde River	430	445	96.6	(29)

Communities and Regions	Inuit Population	General Population	Proportion of Inuit %	Location on Figure 1.1
Arctic Bay	350	375	93.3	(30)
Nanisivik	105	260	40.4	(31)
Pond Inlet	660	705	93.6	(32)
Resolute Bay	155	165	93.9	(33)
Grise Fiord	100	105	95.2	(34)
Coral Harbour	400	430	93.0	(35)
Eskimo Point	965	1,025	94.1	(36)
Whale Cove	175	190	92.1	(37)
Rankin Inlet	850	1,110	76.6	(38)
Chesterfield Inlet	220	235	93.6	(39)
Baker Lake	855	950	90.0	(40)
Repulse Bay	340	355	95.8	(41)
Fort Smith	55	2,250	2.4	(42)
Yellowknife	145	9,415	1.5	(43)
Paulatuk	165	175	94.3	(44)
Inuvik	640	3,125	20.5	(45)
Aklavik	370	705	52.5	(46)
Tuktoyaktuk	680	770	88.3	(47)
Sachs Harbour	145	160	90.6	(48)
Pelly Bay	240	255	94.1	(49)
Coppermine	745	810	92.0	(50)
Bay Chimo	60	60	100.0	(51)
Cambridge Bay	610	815	74.8	(52)
Gjoa Haven	500	525	95.2	(53)
Spence Bay	400	430	93.0	(54)
Holman Island	275	300	90.7	(55)
Rest of NWT	255	13,330	1.9	
Yukon	95	23,075	0.4	
Whitehorse	75	14,750	0.5	
Rest of Yukon	25	8,325	0.3	
Southern Canada	3,315	23,942,480	0.0	
Newfoundland excluding Labrador	355	532,475	0.1	
Prince Edward Island	30	121,220	0.0	
Nova Scotia	130	839,805	0.0	
New Brunswick	5	689,370	0.0	

Communities and Regions	Inuit Population	General Population	Proportion of Inuit %	Location on Figure 1.1
Quebec excluding Northern Quebec	300	6,327,940	0.0	
Ontario	1,095	8,534,265	0.0	
Manitoba	230	1,013,700	0.0	
Saskatchewan	145	956,440	0.0	
Alberta	515	2,213,650	0.0	
British Columbia	510	2,713,615	0.0	
Canada	25,390	24,083,495	0.1	

Note: 1. Communities with over 50 persons of Inuit origin.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.

Sources: Tabulations SC 21, 22 and 27 (Appendix B.2).

A.5 Occupations of the Inuit and General Populations in the Labour Force, Canada and Regions, 1981

Occupation	Inuit Population										General Population	
	Canada		Labrador		Northern Quebec		NWT and Yukon		Southern Canada		Canada	
No occupation	225	3%	20	4%	40	5%	150	4%	15	1%	177,115	1%
All occupations	6,765	97%	515	95%	820	95%	4,120	97%	1,310	99%	11,877,035	99%
Services	1,140	16%	50	9%	160	19%	735	17%	190	14%	1,430,115	12%
Fishing, hunting and trapping	180	3%	75	14%	-	-	95	2%	10	1%	41,100	*
Construction	750	11%	50	9%	65	8%	525	12%	115	9%	783,620	7%
Processing occupations	690	10%	95	18%	70	8%	340	8%	185	14%	1,755,525	15%
Other occupations	4,000	57%	245	45%	525	61%	2,425	57%	805	61%	7,866,670	65%
Total labour force	6,990	100%	540	100%	860	100%	4,265	100%	1,325	100%	12,054,155	100%

Notes: 1. The numbers underlined are those mentioned specifically in the text.
2. Due to random rounding, the sum of the cells may not equal the total shown.
3. The asterisk indicates less than 0.5 per cent.

Source: Tabulation SC 12 (Appendix B.2).

APPENDIX B
STATISTICAL SOURCES

B.1 Statistical Sources Used in Examining Fertility and Mortality

Inuit of Northern Quebec

Observed rates

Births, total deaths and deaths by age: Vital statistics records, REGISTER OF THE INUIT POPULATION OF NORTHERN QUEBEC, DEPARTMENT OF DEMOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF MONTREAL.

Total population and population by age: Censuses of Canada, DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS AND STATISTICS CANADA.

Adjusted rates

Births; estimated infant mortality rates, 1976-1981 period; total population and female population 15 to 49 years of age, 1956 to 1981: REGISTER OF THE INUIT POPULATION OF NORTHERN QUEBEC, DEPARTMENT OF DEMOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF MONTREAL.

Estimated infant mortality rates, 1945-49 to 1970-74 period: LÉGARÉ (1981).

Deaths by cause: TREMBLAY (1981) and THÉRIEN (1981).

Inuit of the Northwest Territories

Births, total deaths and deaths by age, 1939 to 1951: Vital statistics, DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS; 1952 to 1964: VÉZINA (1967).

Births, total deaths and infant deaths, 1965 to 1981: Northern Health Service, Reports on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories, DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE.

Births, total deaths and infant deaths, 1982; deaths by age, 1978 to 1982 and deaths by cause, 1975 to 1981: Medical Services, HEALTH AND WELFARE CANADA.

Total population and population by age, 1931 to 1961, 1971 and 1981: Censuses of Canada, DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS AND STATISTICS CANADA.

Total population and population by age, 1966: Northwest Territories Statistical Abstract, 1974, DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT, page 5.

Total population and population by age, 1976: HAMELIN (1979), page 12.

Life expectancy at birth, 1963-66 period: Life Expectancy of Canadian Eskimos, DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE.

Inuit of Labrador

Births, total deaths, infant deaths and deaths by cause: WOTTON (1983).

Total population and population by age: Censuses of Canada, DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS AND STATISTICS CANADA.

General Population of Canada

Births, total deaths, deaths by age and deaths by cause: Vital statistics, DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS AND STATISTICS CANADA.

Total population and population by age: Censuses of Canada, DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS AND STATISTICS CANADA.

B.2 Special Tabulations Supplied by Statistics Canada

Tabulation 1981 Census

SC 1 Population by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and mother tongue (7), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 2 Population by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and home language (7), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 3 Population by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), mother tongue (7), and home language (7), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 4 Population by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and official language (5), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 5 Population by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and religion (6), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 6 Population by ethnic origin (6), age groups (19), and sex (3), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 7 Population in private households by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and family status (12), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 7A Population in collective non-institutional households by ethnic origin (6), and sex (3), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 8 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), age groups (7), and highest level of schooling (9), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

Tabulation

SC 9 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), age group (7), and school attendance (5), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 10 Population 5 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), region of residence in 1976 (8), and mobility status (5), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 11 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and labour force activity (7), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 12 Total labour force by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and occupation (8), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 13 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and individual income (8), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 13A Population 15 years of age and over with income by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and major average income (1), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 14 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and major source of income (6), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 15 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), official language (5), and highest level of schooling (4), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 16 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), official language (5), and labour force activity (7), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

Tabulation

SC 17 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), highest level of schooling (9), and labour force activity (7), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 18 Total labour force by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), official language (5), and occupation (8), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 19 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), individual income (8), and highest level of schooling (9), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 19A Population 15 years of age and over with income by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), average income (1), and highest level of schooling (9), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 20 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), individual income (8), and major source of income (6), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 20A Population 15 years of age and over with income by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), average income (1), and major source of income (6), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 21 Population by ethnic origin (6) and sex (3), Canada and communities of Labrador, Northern Quebec, and the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, 1981.

SC 22 Population by ethnic origin (6) and sex (3), Canada and census divisions, 1981.

Tabulation

SC 23 Population by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and official language (3), Canada and communities (27), 1981.

SC 24 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and highest level of schooling (4), Canada and communities (27), 1981.

SC 25 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and labour force activity (7), Canada and communities (27), 1981.

SC 26 Population 15 years of age and over with income by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and average income (1), Canada and communities (27), 1981.

SC 27 Population by ethnic origin (6), sex (3), and age groups (19), Northern Quebec and communities (16), 1981.

SC 28 Census families by ethnic origin (6), census family structure (4), number of children (1), and average number of children (1), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 29 Census families by ethnic origin (6), census family structure (4), number of children (1), and average number of children (1), Canada and communities (27), 1981.

SC 30 Private households by ethnic origin (6) of the person responsible for payments, tenure (3), owner's major payments/gross rent (3), and average major payment/gross rent (1), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

Tabulation

SC 31 Private households by ethnic origin (6) of the person responsible for payments and period of construction of dwelling (6), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 32 Private households by ethnic origin (6) of the person responsible for payments and average number of persons per room in the dwelling (1), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 33 Private households by ethnic origin (6) of the person responsible for payments and condition of dwelling (4), Canada and regions (6), 1981.

SC 34 Private households by ethnic origin (6) of the person responsible for payments and condition of dwelling (4), Canada and communities (27), 1981.

SC 35 Private households by ethnic origin (6) of the person responsible for payments and average number of persons per room in the dwelling (1), Canada and communities (27), 1981.

1971 Census

SC 36 Population by ethnic origin (4) and official language (5), Canada and regions (6), 1971.

SC 37 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (4), age groups (7) and school attendance (4), 1971.

SC 38 Total labour force by ethnic origin (4) and occupation (8), Canada and regions (6), 1971.

Tabulation

SC 39 Population 15 years of age and over by ethnic origin (4) and individual income (8) (in 1980 dollars), Canada and regions (6), 1971.

SC 39A Population 15 years of age and over with income by ethnic origin (4) and average income (1) (in 1980 dollars), Canada and regions (6), 1971.

Description of the Variables

Ethnic Origin (6)

Total

- Inuit
  - Inuit single response
  - Inuit multiple response
- Native non-Inuit
- Non-Native

Ethnic Origin (4)

Total

- Inuit
- Native non-Inuit
- Non-Native

Sex (3)

Total

- Male
- Female

Canada and Regions (6)

Canada

- Northern Canada: Labrador + Northern Quebec + Northwest Territories and Yukon
  - Labrador
  - Northern Quebec
  - Northwest Territories and Yukon
- Rest of Canada

Region of Residence in 1976 (8)

Total
Canada
    Northern Canada: Labrador + Northern Quebec + Northwest Territories and Yukon
        Labrador
        Northern Quebec
        Northwest Territories and Yukon
    Rest of Canada
    Outside Canada

Canada and Communities (27)

Total
    Labrador
        Nain
        Rest of Labrador

    Northern Quebec
        Kuujjuaq
        Kuujjuaraapik
        Inukjuak
        Povungnituk
        Rest of Northern Quebec

    Northwest Territories and Yukon
        Aklavik
        Baker Lake
        Cambridge Bay
        Cape Dorset
        Coppermine

Eskimo Point
Frobisher Bay
Igloolik
Inuvik
Pangnirtung
Pond Inlet
Rankin Inlet
Tuktoyaktuk
Rest of Northwest Territories + Yukon

Sum of the rest = rest of Labrador + rest of Northern Quebec + rest of the Northwest Territories + Yukon

Rest of Canada

Northern Quebec and Communities (16)

Total = Northern Quebec

Akulivik
Aupaluk
Fort-George
Inukjuak
Ivujivik
Kangiqsualujjuaq
Kangiqsujuaq
Kangirsuk
Kuujjuaq
Kuujjuaraapik
Povungnituk
Quaqtaq

Salluit
Tasiujaq
Rest of Northern Quebec

Mother Tongue (7)

Total
English
French
Inuktitut
Native languages other than Inuktitut
Indian, not otherwise reported
Other

Home Language (7)

Total
English
French
Inuktitut
Native languages other than Inuktitut
Indian, not otherwise reported
Other

Official Language (5)

Total
English only
French only
English and French
Neither English nor French

Official Language (3)

Total
- English only + English and French
- Other

Religion (6)

Total
- Protestant
- Catholic
- North American Indian or Inuit
- Agnostic/Atheist/No religion
- Other

Age Groups (19)

Total
- Under 1 year of age
- 1 to 4 years of age
- 5 to 9 years of age
- 10 to 14 years of age
- 15 to 19 years of age
- 20 to 24 years of age
- 25 to 29 years of age
- 30 to 34 years of age
- 35 to 39 years of age
- 40 to 44 years of age
- 45 to 49 years of age
- 50 to 54 years of age
- 55 to 59 years of age
- 60 to 64 years of age

65 to 69 years of age
70 to 74 years of age
75 to 79 years of age
80 years of age and over

Age Groups (7)

15 years of age and over
15 to 19 years of age
20 to 24 years of age
25 to 29 years of age
30 to 34 years of age
35 to 39 years of age
40 years of age and over

Family Status (12)

Total
- Family persons
  - Husband
  - Wife
  - Male lone parent
  - Female lone parent
  - Children under 18 years of age
  - Children 18 years of age and over
- Non-family persons
  - Persons living alone
  - Persons living with relatives
  - Persons living with non-relatives only

Highest Level of Schooling (9)

Population 15 years of age and over
- No schooling or kindergarten only
- Grades 1-4
- Grades 5-8
- Grades 9-13
- Secondary (high) school graduation certificate
- Trades certificate or diploma
- No university
- University

Highest Level of Schooling (4)

Population 15 years of age and over
- Grade 4 or less (includes those with no schooling)
- Grades 5-8
- Grade 9 or more, and other

School Attendance (5)

Population 15 years of age and over
- Attending school full time
- Not attending school full time
- Attending school part time
- Not attending school

School Attendance (4)

Population 15 years of age and over
- Attending school full time
- Not attending school full time
- Not attending school

Mobility Status (5)

- Population 5 years of age and over
  - Non-movers
  - Movers
    - Non-migrants
    - Migrants

Labour Force Activity (7)

- Population 15 years of age and over
  - In labour force
    - Employed
    - Unemployed
  - Not in labour force
  - Participation rate
  - Unemployment rate

Occupation (8)

- Total labour force
  - Inexperienced
  - Experienced
    - Service occupations
    - Fishing/hunting/trapping
    - Construction
    - Processing and related occupations
    - Other occupations

Individual Income (8)

Population 15 years of age and over
- Without income
- With income
  - Under $5,000
  - $5,000 to $9,999
  - $10,000 to $14,999
  - $15,000 to $19,999
  - $20,000 and over

Average Income (1)

Average income of persons having an income

Major Source of Income (6)

Population 15 years of age and over
- With income
  - Employment income
  - Government transfer payments
  - Other income
- Without income

Census Family Structure (4)

Total families
- Husband-wife families
- Male lone-parent families
- Female lone-parent families

Number of Children (1)

Total number of children

Average Number of Children (1)

Average number of children

Tenure (3)

Total of persons responsible for payments
Renters
Owners

Owner's Major Payments/Gross Rent (3)

Household income, $0 or less
Payments or rent less than 25 per cent of household income
Payments or rent more than 25 per cent of household income

Average Owner's Major Payments/Gross Rent (1)

Average major payment or average gross rent in dollars

Period of Construction of Dwelling (6)

Total dwellings
1920 or earlier
1921-1945
1946-1960
1961-1970
1971-1981

Average Number of Persons Per Room in the Dwelling (1)

Average number of persons per room

Condition of Dwelling (4)

Total dwellings

Only regular maintenance required

Minor repairs required

Major repairs required

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